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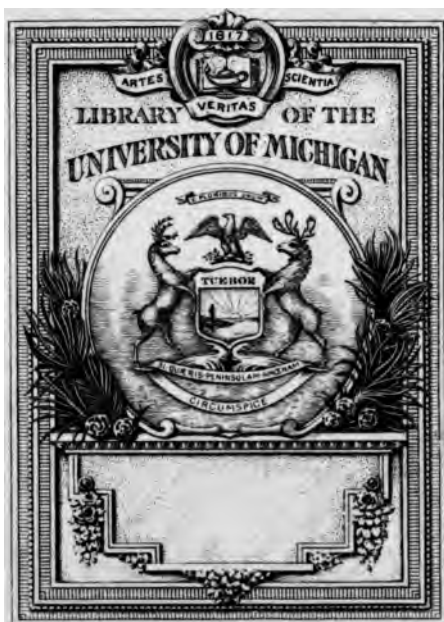
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A
DESCRIPTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF THE WRITINGS OF
GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE

A
DESCRIPTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF THE WRITINGS OF
GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
WITH A BRIEF SKETCH OF HIS LIFE

BY
CHAS. WM. F. GOSS,
Author of
"CROSBY HALL: A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF LONDON"

Prefaced by
MRS. HOLYOAKE-MARSH

London:
CROWTHER & GOODMAN,
PORTSOOKEN PRESS,
124, FENCHURCH STREET, AND FEN COURT, E.C.
1908.

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AS A FITTING TRIBUTE TO THE GENEROSITY WHICH GAVE
IT BEING, IT WAS INTENDED A FEW DAYS AGO TO INSCRIBE

THIS BOOK TO

ALFRED MARSH, Esq.,

THE LIFE-LONG AND DEVOTED FRIEND OF GEORGE JACOB
HOLYOAKE. INSTEAD — IT IS TO-DAY SORROWFULLY
DEDICATED TO HIS MEMORY

BY ITS AUTHOR.

8th August, 1908.

PREFACE.

FEW authors have worked continuously for so long a period, or written upon such a variety of topics as my father, and these facts alone would give a peculiar interest to a Bibliography of his works. His belief in the "Piety of usefulness rather than the usefulness of piety" was the key to his life, and accounts for many of his publications which were written to aid struggling movements. He was always ready to "lend a hand" to a friend or a cause in difficulties, if either commanded his sympathy.

This Bibliography would not have been compiled save for the perseverance of Mr. C. W. F. Goss, who undertook the work on his own initiative, and continued it persistently for two years. He has introduced a new feature which considerably adds to its interest, by appending notes on the subject of each work, or interesting circumstances connected with its publication. This entailed reading over 400 books, pamphlets and magazine articles, which substantially increased his work.

From the first, it seemed to me, that such a record of my father's literary labours would be better than any memorial we could erect to his memory, and one which would be valued by his friends. We therefore persuaded Mr. Goss to allow us to publish it, my husband generously contributing to the cost thereof. The difficulties of the task will be apparent to all who meet with this volume, when they take note of the fact that the first pamphlet on Trade Unionism, an unpopular subject at that time, was published by my father in 1841—and the last book on Co-operation, a fortnight after his death in 1906—a period of sixty-five years! Mr. Goss was well fitted for the task, and as difficulties arose his zeal increased.

The two pamphlets published in 1848 were composed in Gloucester Gaol, and written in semi-darkness, sometimes in total darkness, on a board with the aid of cotton lines to guide the pen. The little old-fashioned ink-case he used, he gave to me forty years after.

In early years his writings were chiefly an examination of works emanating from Christians, and establishing the right

of expressing an honest disbelief in Christian tenets. Later on, while a worker with Robert Owen and a social missionary, he wrote on communities, co-operation, and school books suitable for the instruction of the young. His association with Owen influenced the whole of his life, and his method of defending himself, and the fact that he seldom attacked opponents, certainly never offensively, was due to Owen's influence. One may safely claim for him, in the expressive words of Thoreau, that he was "one of those authors who had learned to leave out his dulness," if, indeed, he ever had any.

It is difficult to realise to-day the amount of opprobrium the free thinkers of 1840 and later had to suffer, and the social ostracism which resulted from their advocacy of free thought. In these tolerant days, one may proclaim any unpopular social or political theory without fear; indeed, we find the more unpopular the theory the more popular the exponents become. It is curious, therefore, to read at the present time a note I found among my father's papers which he bequeathed to me, saying, "Thornton Hunt was the first gentleman I heard say he had no wish to be called a Christian. It very much surprised me as I had never heard a gentleman say so before." He probably heard the remark during their association on *The Leader* newspaper about 1852, but he wrote the note many years after. My father lived to be one of the founders of the Rationalist Press Association, and the President until his death. He must often have thought of the dark ages from which he had emerged, when distinguished men of letters joined its ranks.

After 1886, when verging on seventy years of age, he wrote chiefly on the subject of Co-operation; he wrote and spoke ceaselessly in favour of Co-partnership and the right of the worker to participate both in the profit of his work and the management of the workshop in which he was worker and joint owner. In 1902 he wrote a series of papers called "Anti Boycott Papers," for which he was accorded the thanks of the Central Board. These papers proved that after writing on the subject for more than forty years, he had not exhausted his power of treating the subject with freshness.

EMILIE HOLYOAKE-MARSH.

HIGHGATE, N.W.,
August, 1908.

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AN INTRODUCTORY SKETCH
OF
THE LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

WHILE the "Bibliography of the Writings of George Jacob Holyoake" was growing under the compiler's hand, he experienced the necessity of referring to this or that stage of Holyoake's career for the purpose of throwing additional light upon the subject matter or point of view of certain of his books, and in preparing the annotations which are appended to nearly all of the items in the Bibliography, the compiler felt that a short biographical sketch, giving the salient facts of Mr. Holyoake's life, was almost a necessity where works of so polemical a character were concerned. To this fact, and also to try and meet the call, so freely urged of late in the Press, for a short, compact account of the pioneer of the co-operative movement; the champion of a free press and free speech, and the untiring agitator for the social, moral, and physical uplifting of the working classes, have these pages been penned. It is true that many of the minor controversies are now deservedly forgotten, and that many a "stiff" fight has now happily ended in the victory of the social and political reform for which Holyoake so stoutly battled. These dead and forgotten disputes are only revived in these pages where they are necessary for the description of bibliographical items; and for the rest, the heroic sacrifices for truth's sake, the persevering industry, the uprightness and noble character of the man, will speak for themselves.

George Jacob Holyoake was born in Birmingham on the 18th April, 1817, the year in which Robert Owen made his famous pronouncement in the City of London Tavern that all the religions of the world were wrong—in days when the social waters were already in a state of ferment, for other agitators had been at work. At his birth a commercial panic had reduced his parents from comparative comfort to unusual privation. Brought up very carefully by his mother, who was a deeply religious, sweet, lovable, and kind-hearted woman, Holyoake early became a pupil at the Dame's School in Hurst Street; and at the Sunday School, in connection with Carr's Lane Chapel, then in the charge of the Rev. John A. James, one of the most distinguished dissenting ministers of that day, Holyoake was considered so extremely pious that he was denominated "the angel child."

He began his business career in days when labour, destitute of organization, was absolutely at the mercy of capital, and when it was almost a social misdemeanour for a working man to take an active interest in politics. Before he was seven years of age, he worked at making and fitting copper wire shanks to horn buttons in a business conducted by his mother, which had been bequeathed her, and at the age of eight he obtained employment, when his school hours were over, in making lanterns at a tin-plate worker's. When but nine years old he commenced regular work as a whitesmith at the Eagle Foundry, where his father had held a situation as foreman for 40 years, and his must have been a pathetic little figure, as he trudged along Suffolk Street to his work in the early hours of the morning, sleep still clinging to his eyelids, and with his little hand in that of his father, the pathos of it lying in the fact that his was but a typical figure of the childhood of the artizan class in 1826. With the exception of the periods of two long and dangerous illnesses, he continued to work at the foundry until he was 22 years of age. Even as a sickly youth, for whom an early death was predicted, he was quick of apprehension, and eagerly availed

himself of such educational advantages as his scanty leisure permitted him to enjoy. There were no technical schools, no libraries, and few books to be had in the early 19th century, so that even the best workmen knew little or nothing beyond their own handicrafts. Before he was quite 12 years of age, Holyoake records that he signed a petition against Catholic emancipation, little thinking that the day was not far off when he himself would need emancipation, as well as those of his way of thinking.

During the active years of the first Birmingham Political Union, founded to promote the passing of the Reform Bill, he became acquainted with most of its leaders, and in 1881, when but 14 years of age, he held a ticket of membership, which he retained until the Reform Bill of 1882 was carried. In that year he began to take part in the agitation for the extension of the Franchise, and by the time he was 16 or 17, he had perceived that the problem of the age was the position of labour, and that the means for its elevation must be partly political, partly educational. The impression he received while working at the Foundry, of the petty tyranny of masters, and the apathy and helplessness of workmen, played no small part in shaping his career. He spent the whole of his spare time in self-improvement and in helping others in a like direction, and if not strictly orthodox, he remained strictly pious, as may be gathered from his reminiscences of this period of his life, contained in "The last trial for Atheism." He says: "In early youth I was religious," and "as I grew up I attended missionary meetings and my few pence were given to that cause. . . I learned the accents of piety from my mother's lips. She was, and still is, a religious woman." In *The Reasoner*, No. 57, he says, "My youth was sacrificed at the shrine of piety, my days were given to toil and prayer. After the day's task was done I was lured into the prayer meeting. When the seventh day of rest came, I was immured in a Sunday school, and it brought no rest to me. The should-have-been buoyancy of youth was absorbed

by the gloom of religion. Premature cares weighed on my young spirits. Supernatural fears destroyed my peace, and I was degraded by an artificial sense of depravity. . . . I was reared in want, and was more familiar with desolation than with the rising sun. . . . No God ever had a truer supplicant or more devout worshipper, yet those near and dear to me perished, unheeded, around me." On the 30th March, 1835, he drew up the following ten articles which he considered all that were necessary to believe in, to obtain salvation :—

1. That the Bible is true, and is the criterion of man.
2. That there is independent of mystery, a trinity of persons, and one, and only one God, from whom proceed all things.
3. The fall of man and his inert condition.
4. The atonement made for all men by Jesus Christ.
5. The necessity of repentance unto regeneration.
6. Of justification by faith.
7. Of sanctification by the Holy Spirit.
8. Of the resurrection of the dead.
9. The great final judgment.
10. The certainty of the future reward of virtue, and the everlasting punishment of vice.

At the same time he prepared a series of articles of faith, which he then considered essential to be observed and practised, by those who professed Christianity :—

1. That God governs this world by His providence, and His tender mercies are over all His works. He superintends all events, and every occurrence of every nature will ultimately show forth His wisdom and goodness, and all His regulations are intended to stimulate all men to press forward to the mark or prize of this high calling.

2. That every individual is capable equally of doing that which is good, as that which is evil, and that on his decision and perseverance, depends his everlasting happiness.

3. The possibility of falling from grace.
4. The baptism of believers by immersion.
5. The ordinance of the Lord's Supper.
6. The observance of the commands of God.
7. The inconsistency of war with the principles of Christianity.
8. The inconceivable felicity of Heaven, and the inconceivable misery of Hell.
9. That he who supplicates Heaven in faith through Jesus Christ, is sure to receive in return, that which God, in His goodness, considers best for him.
10. That charity, benevolence, consideration, sincerity, fortitude, modesty, temperance, diligence, frugality, regularity, justice, manliness, moderation and humanity ought to be practised.
11. The duty of man is simply this : depart from evil and cleave to that which is good, for he that walketh uprightly walketh surely.
12. That the most acceptable service to God is doing good to men.

Every evening after leaving his work Holyoake attended one or other place of worship, and although at first believing in the ordinary evangelical Calvinistic religion preached by Congregationalists, his heart really inclined towards the Wesleyans. Beyond the knowledge he gained from attending the services at various places of worship, combined with a fondness for reading, his education seems to have been very scanty. That he had a fondness for reading is clearly evidenced by the following incident. While at work one day a little rosy-faced Quaker, of bright, unassuming ways entered the shop and stood near the vice at which Holyoake was working, and asked whether he was fond of reading. It was Mr. Tench, one of the family of that name who had given some alms-houses in Steelhouse Lane, Birmingham. The Quaker had been told that he would find a youth in the whitesmith's shop who would read anything and everything which came

his way. The next day Mr. Tench brought an old book for him to read, and expressed pleasure that Holyoake attended chapel prayer meetings and classes, and hoped that the youth would always think well of honesty and industry as duties of life.

At the age of 17 his passionate desire for self-improvement found him a student of the classes formed under the auspices of the Mechanics' Institute, conducted in those days by Mr. Daniel Wright, a Unitarian gentleman, who had remarkable talent for instructing, and whose ambition it was, to teach boys to think as well as to learn. The workshop from this time became young Holyoake's college, where he read and studied during meal hours the tasks which were given him at the Institute by his excellent tutor, thereby acquiring a store of knowledge that already stamped him as an exceptionally intelligent youth.

The habit he acquired of frequenting chapels and missionary meetings, led him to attend political assemblies, which further enlarged his views of life and duty. Subsequently, in 1836, he became a Sunday school teacher in a Baptist Chapel, but not feeling himself sufficiently holy, he refused to go through the ceremony of being re-baptized. It was during the period he was attached to this Chapel as a teacher that he made his first attempt in literature. This was a poem, published in the Baptist Tract Magazine for 1836, entitled "The Reign of Time":—

The proudest earthly buildings show,
Time can all things devour;
E'en youth and beauty's ardent glow,
And manhood's intellectual brow,
Betray the spoiler's power:
How soon we sink beneath his sway;
He glances and our heads turn grey.

Though over all this earthly ball,
Time's standard is unfurl'd;
And ruins loud to ruins call,
Throughout this Time-worn world.
Yet from this wreck of earthly things,
See how the Soul exulting springs!

And after the archangel's sound,
 Has wav'd o'er earth and sea,
 And time has stopp'd at his command,
 The soul will flourish and expand,
 Through all eternity.
 Religion—lovely, fair and free,
 Holds forth this immortality.

By all the glories of the sky ;
 To mortals yet unknown ;
 And by the worm that ne'er shall die,
 The fires that always burn :
 By all that's awful or sublime,
 Ye sons of men, Improve your time.

In 1837, he was appointed to teach what he knew of mathematics and the elements of logic, to a normal class held in the New Meeting House (locally known as Dr. Priestley's Chapel) Unitarian Sunday Schools, Birmingham, for in those days Unitarians permitted useful information to be taught to working men on Sundays. His acceptance of the position caused the Evangelicals to wrestle with him in prayer, but they got from him only the concession that it was right to teach science, but wrong to hold the Unitarian belief. He always insisted on having his class near the exit. His reason for choosing this position, Mr. Holyoake says, "was my belief that the wickedness of the preacher in addressing only one Deity, would one day be resented by Heaven, and the roof would fall in upon the congregation." He afterwards desired to join the Provident Institution, connected with the New Meeting House adjoining the Chapel, but was rejected by Mr. Ryland on the excuse of ill-health, whereas he was merely overworked and pale.

It was in June, 1837, that he first met Robert Owen, that great human benefactor and one of the noblest social reformers whose names adorn the pages of history. He had been told by a fellow student, Frederick Hollick—afterwards Dr. Hollick, well-known in America—that Robert Owen was to lecture in the Allison Street Rooms. At that time he knew very little about Robert Owen, but had heard a good deal of the Rev. Robert Hall, and having confused the names,

he thought it was the latter he was going to hear. When he found it was Robert Owen, whom he had gathered was a very reprehensible person, and one opposed to Christianity, he was seriously disappointed and his thought was, "What a wicked old man he must be," and wondered how he could be happy in his mind. Holyoake soon found out that Owen had spent most of his life in doing good, and "that he had given more money and assistance towards the improvement of the condition of the working people than had all the Bishops in the world." "It showed," as he afterwards stated, "how theological teaching had narrowed my mind and stupified in me moral perceptions, that I had such complacency and such ignorance." "Great was my dismay," he says, "when, after months of thought, I found that the questioned tenets seemed, on the whole, to be true." He quickly came under the influence of the social reformer, and in consequence of the bitterness of the clergy towards Owen and those who held his views, and because of their accusations of heresy, Holyoake was led to taking sides with freethought, and associating himself with co-operation. He took part in the discussions held in Allison Street Rooms, and was asked ultimately to give short lectures there. When President of the Congress at Carlisle in 1887, Mr. Holyoake said "It is the jubilee year of my advocacy of co-operation." In an old diary it is shown that his first lecture on socialism, as co-operation was then commonly called, was delivered in Allison Street in the month of January, 1838. Shortly afterwards he delivered the same lecture at Kidderminster, which is often said to have been his first address. Holyoake, not satisfied with merely lecturing on Owenism, began to put these theories into practice, for in 1838 he, with three fellow-students of the Mechanics' Institute—Hollick, Hornblower and Giles—formed a small Utopian community after the manner of the more illustrious persons of whom they then knew little, and they all four lived together in an "associated house" in Sun Street West, Birmingham, a small community favourable to

friendship and economy. What these young men advocated on a large scale, they sought to practice on a small one, on the principle that one should do what one could, when unable to do what one would. He also joined "The Association of All Classes of All Nations," founded by the followers of Robert Owen.

The respect and esteem in which Holyoake was held by his fellow-workmen, are shown by the fact that at 21 years of age, he was selected by them to prepare a petition on behalf of the men engaged at the Eagle Foundry. Later on in the year, about September, with £5 in his pocket, he set out for a six weeks' jaunt in the Isle of Man. There he met the Editor of *Mona's Herald*, who invited him to contribute a letter concerning the Birmingham Mechanics' Institute. In this letter, dated 24th September, 1888, the first he had ever contributed to a newspaper, he pointed out the value the establishment of Mechanics' Institutes would have in the Isle of Man, and explained how such institutes were conducted in England. The communication is written in perfect style, so characteristic of his work in after years.

Shortly after his return to Birmingham, Holyoake, with two of his fellow-workers, volunteered to conduct meteorological observations upon the flat roof of the Eagle Foundry, and he was thus engaged on three cold November nights from 6 o'clock in the evening until 8 in the morning, from Sunday to Wednesday, without any rest, as no cessation of work was provided for. The result of these observations was presented in a report, which was highly creditable to themselves and to the Institute to which they belonged, and in November of that year the Managers of the Birmingham Philosophical Institution presented their thanks to Holyoake for his able assistance in taking the meteoric observations on the 12th, 18th and 14th of November, and begged him to accept a ticket of admission to the Institute lectures. He was also elected a member of the Committee of the Mechanics' Institute, of which he thought a great deal.

At this time he was engaged in teaching at the Institute from 7 to 9 each night, and from 9 until 10 o'clock he was himself taught, in return for his services, by Mr. Daniel Wright. After the evening lesson he would walk home with his tutor to the far end of the town during the dark and cold winter months, and in this way obtained much useful advice as to the conduct of life. As he somewhere in his writings says: "Mr. Wright gave me the first confidence in living that I ever received."

In the year 1886 he had gained a prize at the Institution for proficiency in mathematics, and again in the year 1888, but not having the means to buy mathematical instruments, he constructed out of odd pieces of sheet iron lying about the workshop, two pairs of compasses, now in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Holyoake-Marsh, and by their aid he made correct diagrams to the six books of Euclid. His tutor was so pleased with Holyoake's skill in mathematics, and with the compasses, that he caused the latter to be exhibited in the following year at the Annual Distribution of Prizes of the Mechanics' Institute, held at the Philosophical Rooms in Cannon Street, on which occasion five prizes were awarded, four for drawing and one for mathematics, Holyoake carrying off the latter. At the presentation of this prize, Mr. Pitman asked if Holyoake was the youth referred to in the Report as having evinced so much assiduity, and on being informed that he was, Mr. Pitman said he considered it a pity that such a master mind as Holyoake's should be crippled; and that he should feel great pleasure in presenting him with a case of mathematical instruments. Holyoake then came forward and modestly returned thanks. He said he felt extremely grateful for the prize and the present, and he hoped to repay his patrons by renewed exertions in the cause of science.

He had married, in March, 1888, the lady (Eleanor) of whom he speaks so affectionately in many of his writings. To her he had taken the precaution to explain beforehand

that he "had enlisted in the order of industry, which did little for its recruits," and almost immediately after, he left his employment at the Foundry, to take up teaching in a private academy in Moor Street, Birmingham, at a salary of 10s. a week with dinner, and later on, he was engaged to keep the books of Mr. W. B. Pemberton, from whom he received 8s. a week and two meals. Mr. Holyoake, as I have already stated, associated himself with the Chartists immediately after the passing of the Reform Bill, when he was but 15 years of age, but the first insurgent affair in which he was mixed up was in the Birmingham Bull Ring in July, 1839, where great outrages were committed; but although a Chartist and frequently acting with the party, he never joined in their war upon the Whigs. Noticing that a neighbour's house had been fired by the soldiers at four o'clock in the morning, he, with his wife, crossed the Bull Ring on their way to offer assistance if necessary, when the soldiers rushed at them and attempted to cut them down. A few months after his marriage, Mr. Daniel Wright selected him to superintend the assistants, and to explain the various objects exhibited at the first experimental exhibition of machinery, arts, and manufactures at the Shakespeare Rooms, Birmingham. When on a visit to the model exhibition, Mr. Wright died suddenly, and Holyoake, then little more than 22 years of age, was appointed to conduct the classes of the Mechanics' Institute.

He was by nature a propagandist and disseminator, always regarding a fact or a saying as part of an argument, and thus for some considerable time, he had been giving his mind to an inquiry into the teaching of Robert Owen. This appeared so reasonable to him, that he abandoned the evangelical views he had held in his ardent youth, and which he retained until he was 28 years of age, and consented to become one of the "Social missionaries" to explain Owen's views. The principal tenets were, "That we are influenced by environment; that human will, being subject to causation was

impossible, and the necessity of improved material conditions, and improved education." He thus became the exponent of the best aspirations of the working classes. His aim was constructive and not destructive. He sought to build up the prosperity of all classes by the process of levelling up, and not by that of pulling down. Reform and not revolution, justice and not revenge, were his watchwords.

In youthful days he wrote poetry, because he was charmed with verse in which there was no glimmer of personal thought, but which was a mere echo of scriptural ideas. One piece was on Samson and his amazing exploits. The features of the story seemed to him so incredible that they did not excite in his mind the slightest suspicion. "Theology," he says, "had kept asleep the faculty of criticism within me;" but some lines he wrote indicated that he had chosen temperance and industry as means of improvement. Contentment with frugality, was to be a condition of his being able to help others, and his ambition lay in maintaining an independent mind. It was, however, mainly due to the relentlessness with which the church persecuted unfriended freethought, and the harsh legality by which it gathered taxes from the very poor of the parish in which he lived, that may be ascribed much of the sternness, which made him the uncompromising foe of churches and churchmen. One of his earliest memories was of a time when yet a child, and whilst his parents were engaged in the difficult task of keeping the wolf from the door, his little sister fell dangerously ill, sadly needing all the nourishment that could be afforded. The money intentionally laid aside for the church rate or Easter dues, had to be expended on suitable food for the sick child. Within a few days, the Rev. Mr. Mosely, Rector of St. Martin, Birmingham, issued a summons for the amount of the rate, and dreading the possible warrant of distraint, such as had been served upon a neighbour, the money which should have been expended to

purchase a little wine to moisten the parched lips of his dying sister, was gathered together, and as none of the children were old enough to take it to the public office, the mother with a heavy heart reluctantly left the child at home, while she went to pay the dues. Already worn out with constant watching, and distracted with anxiety for her child, she was kept waiting at the Court five or six hours till the case was called, others being there on the same errand. When she returned to her home, she found the child a corpse, and the thought that the money extorted by the Church, might have saved the little one's life, made the hardship all the greater. So very dear was this young sister to him, that from the moment of her death, he doubted the goodness of the Established Church and, as he says, "Unconsciously turned my heart to methods of secular deliverance." A wise head, a feeling heart, and brilliant mental qualities were thus lost to Christianity, by the conduct of the man who outraged the poor whitesmith's home in the name of religion, and as he says somewhere, "The practical infidelity of professing christians is one of the surest means of making theoretical atheists." His recoil from Christianity soon became extreme, and doubtless as a very young man, he said many bitter things which he lived to regret as he grew older and wiser.

He was now (August, 1840) invited by the Worcester Branch of English Socialists, to accept the position of lecturer in the Hall of Science in that town. After walking there from Birmingham, he inaugurated his work with a lecture, the subject being:—"An inquiry into the incentives afforded by present society to the practice of honour, honesty and virtue," in which he showed that by the then bad arrangements of society every encouragement was given to the perpetration of vice. On the same day he delivered another lecture, choosing as his theme "General intelligence the only agent necessary for the diffusion of the rational religion." Then on the following Monday he lectured on

"The hopes of the poor man from his political protectors, priestly guides, and ghostly comforters." In October he gave an exposition of "What the world calls Socialism," followed by a lecture entitled "The utter inefficiency of all political reforms as effectual remedies for the evils under which we all labour; with strictures on the advocacy of the charter, and the repeal of the corn laws." Mr. Holyoake urged upon his audience, the importance of cultivating a closer acquaintance with the practice of that party, which justly estimated the good to be obtained; and as general intelligence is the universal basis of all demands for universal and great reforms, we cannot regard them otherwise than as the landmarks of human progression. He afterwards delivered a series of lectures on "The philosophy of the human mind," and a number of lectures on "The comparative merits of intellectual, moral, and political education." The information in these lectures was conveyed in a lucid and simple style, the whole of them being imbued with a highly moral, and truly religious tone of sentiment, which it was his most ardent desire and endeavour to inculcate among his audience. He remained in Worcester for nearly a year, filling in his spare moments, and adding to his weekly wage of 16s., by teaching mathematics at a ladies' school, under the assumed name of Mr. Jacobs, for his own name would have carried disquieting associations. He further increased his wages by contributing to various journals, including *The New Moral World* and *The Iris*, and by writing technical treatises for mechanics, who, "being masters of their own craft, but not used to the pen," were engaged by a publisher to supply him with handbooks on their respective subjects. For this, Holyoake received part of the payment. In that town he also established various educational classes, and in 1841, he was invited by the Manchester Congress of the "Universal Community Society of Rational Religionists," to accept a station at Sheffield, at 80s. a week, to conduct a day school and deliver three lectures

each week, on behalf of that now forgotten Society. At this Congress Mr. Holyoake presented the MS. of an elementary work on geometry, which he had prepared at the wish of the Central Board, and the question of its publication was postponed for consideration. While at Sheffield, he established a day school on the Pestalozzian system, for children of both sexes, who were taught the usual elementary principles, and in addition to these, facts only, it being conceived that if the minds of children are well stored with useful knowledge, they will be quite capable of forming their opinions upon all subjects, when they attained riper years and maturer judgments.

As a youth he had seen the evils artizans had suffered through lack of organization, and in November, he delivered a lecture before the members of Trades' Unions, in which he defined the reasonable aims of Trades' Unions, and considered the question whether they had failed or succeeded in their object, and if they had failed, whether unionists had the power to prevent such failure in the future. The whole of the lecture suggested that for the success of the working classes, it was necessary to secure the land for the benefit of the whole commonwealth. The lecture was published at the request of the members, under the title of "The advantages and disadvantages of Trades' Unions." This was his first pamphlet, and secured for him the friendship of Ebenezer Elliott, the Corn Law rhymer.

He continued at Sheffield for nearly 12 months, mixing with men of all classes and creeds, and teaching them the value of tolerance and unity as would the better make co-operation attainable, keeping as the chief aim the welfare of the labouring masses of his countrymen. He was by this time engaged in writing a sketch of his friend Charles Reece Pemberton, a man of extraordinary genius, who had sprung from the working classes, and who had spent his life in endeavouring to improve their condition politically, socially, and morally. He published the book early in the following year. This is

a sincere work, beautifully written in a chaste, thoughtful style. The author's reflections on his subject show that it was written to do honour to the man, whose genius, if erratic, was of a high order. In the book he contends that "self-knowledge is the knowledge of humanity," that rigid self-examination and self-trust, is the state most conducive to the accomplishment and perpetuation of happiness.

While engaged in the preparation of this sketch he, with Charles Southwell, Ryall and Chilton, founded *The Oracle of Reason*, an atheistic periodical. Their militant journal had been scarcely launched, before Southwell was sentenced at Bristol to a year's imprisonment, and a fine of £100, for the publication of some bold strictures on the Bible, which he designated "The Jew Book." The article in question was published in No. 4 of *The Oracle*, issued on November 27th, 1841. Mr. Holyoake was not an athiest, although he was wholly for the right of atheism to be heard, or any other opinion that appealed to reason, and being young, ardent, and simply sceptical, he determined at any cost to vindicate free speech, which was now endangered by Southwell's sentence. Assuming an attitude of indifference to public opinion, and ignoring the consistent prejudice to rational religion, he volunteered to conduct *The Oracle* during the period of his friend's incarceration, and in doing so he was exposed to unmerited insults and petty persecution.

He was then led to investigate more closely the evidences of theology, and to reject them as utterly insufficient. In the "Spirit of Bonner," page 4, he says: "I have been, till within a short period of this, a believer in the humanising tendency of Christianity, but the persecution of my friend has been, within these few weeks, the cradle of my doubts and the grave of my religion. My cherished confidence is gone, and my youth is no more." About six weeks after his co-worker's imprisonment, Mr. Holyoake delivered a lecture at Sheffield in which he defended Southwell, and published the lecture, a month later (12th

February, 1842), with the title "The Spirit of Bonner in the Disciples of Jesus; or the cruelty and intolerance of Christianity displayed in the prosecution for blasphemy of Charles Southwell." As the title explains, the book was issued as a defence of Southwell, and as an appeal for pecuniary aid to secure the triumph of his principles. Closely following upon Holyoake's adoption of the unpopular and persecuted views, came his endurance of imprisonment, in testimony of the sincerity and ardour of his convictions.

He had conducted the journal for a little more than three months, when he set out to visit Southwell by walking from Birmingham to Bristol, a distance of 90 miles. On his way he delivered a lecture to the Chartists in the Cheltenham Mechanics' Institute—in behalf of the widow of Mr. Holberry, a Sheffield Chartist who had died in prison—on the general principle of co-operation, entitled "Home colonization as superseding Poor Laws and Emigration." This was the beginning of his propagandist work on behalf of co-operation, and at the close of the lecture, a local preacher, named Maitland, complained that while he had told them much of their duty to man, he had not told them of their duty to God, nor had he stated whether the proposed community would possess any churches. Holyoake was asked to explain his opinions. He knew the purpose of the enquiry, and although the question was irrelevant, Holyoake felt that if he refused to answer it, he would have been creating a further disbelief in the candour and the courage of the rationalist religionists, while if he answered frankly, Maitland was prepared to get him prosecuted. A short while previously a young schoolmaster and Socialist poet named Sperry, suspected of heresy, had been induced to recant on the promise of financial assistance if he did so. This incident produced a local impression that Socialist advocates were timorous in avowing their opinions. Holyoake made it a practice never to introduce his religious opinions into his lectures on social topics, but as he had cultivated the "perilous habit" of speaking fearlessly the thoughts that

were within him, he resolved that it should not be said of him that he was a coward. He therefore answered Maitland directly and explicitly, and with more vehemence than he otherwise would have done. "Considering the poverty of the people," he said, "I think the cost of the services of the church are much too high, and I should feel like putting these expenses, as the Government puts its subalterns, on half pay."

The next day he walked to Bristol to fill another engagement, and there he learned that he was to be apprehended for his "blasphemous" speech to the preacher; and declining to evade the process of law by flight, he walked back to Cheltenham, attended a Chartist meeting, and—unfortunately for Mr. Holyoake, Cheltenham at that time was suffering from extraordinary theological sensitiveness—he was arrested. He was hailed before the magistrates upon an indictment, charging him among other things, with having assaulted Omnipotence "with force of arms," and was committed for trial. For three weeks he was kept in gaol because he would not swear to his own recognizances. Mr. Roebuck, member for Bath at that time, called the attention of the House of Commons to the proceeding, and pointed out that as the commitment was to the Quarter Sessions, the judges would be the same magistrates who had already examined him. Sir James Graham stated in the House, that there had been gross irregularities and unnecessary harshness in the case, a very severe reproof which was heavily felt. An Act was passed with marvellous celerity, to remove all trials for speculative opinion, from the Quarter Sessions to the Assizes only, and Mr. Holyoake was the first person tried under that Act. Pending his trial at the next Gloucester assizes, Holyoake was thereupon liberated. The interval was spent in London and Birmingham, and in August he took his trial for the answer he had given Maitland. Mr. Justice Erskine admitted that, as an honest man, he could have given no other reply than he did, and for being an "honest man"

Holyoake was sentenced to six months' imprisonment to encourage him in his youthful "candour!" as Mr. Holyoake puts it in his autobiography, "a sentence more deserved for contumacious pertinacity than for levity of speech, which to-day might be heard not only from the platform of freethought, but from those of liberal Christianity." Just before his committal for trial, the chief magistrate informed Mr. Holyoake that he would not be allowed to speak in his own defence in Court. Holyoake said, in that case, he would at least try, and he pleaded for 9 hours and 20 minutes in a speech, which was a marvel of logic and eloquence. It is perhaps interesting to record that Mr. Knight Hunt, who became editor of *The Daily News* on the retirement of Charles Dickens, personally reported the trial in full. "The last trial for atheism," a most pathetic story, faultlessly records the proceedings, and gives a graphic account of a most interesting and important event. But what a sad and hopeless wail is his cry of anguish over his dead child, who died during his imprisonment, chiefly in consequence of the hardships to which his wife and family were exposed, for it had not been in his power to leave any provision for them. On his way to the Assizes, Mr. Holyoake says: "My little daughter Madeline ran from her mother's knee to the door, when she found I had gone, and called after me down the street. Her sweet, clear voice arrested me. I looked back and saw her dark, black eyes gleaming. I never met her glance again, nor heard her voice any more." Despite all this his cheery nature was not embittered. During his trial and imprisonment, he manifested a quiet self-possession and unflinching fortitude, which showed him "equal to either fortune," and gave to his recommendations of virtue and honesty that stamp of reality which is, alas, too often wanting; but his experience led him to originate that form of opinion, since designated Secularism, which taught a belief in duty, that material improvement was an indisputable method of progress, and that the secular was sacred. His

prison experiences were "his college days of learning," he says, but graduating in a gaol was not a recommendation afterwards to profitable employment, and from a working tinsmith, with a natural turn for, and love of, mechanical handicraft, he became "a wandering speaker on prohibited subjects of usefulness and progress." The ignorant bigotry of the magistrates at Cheltenham, and the effect of his imprisonment, only helped to so intensify his disbeliefs, that upon his release, he was just as strenuous as ever in behalf of the advancement of his principles. During these years of tramping as a social missionary, he came into close relations with all kinds of men and women, and sounded all experiences of life. The first place he visited was Cheltenham, and there he repeated the words which led to his sojourn in Gloucester Goal.

While in prison, he wrote various articles for *The Oracle of Reason*, which were conveyed to the Editor as opportunity occurred, and he also prepared replies to two books which The Hon. Andrew Sayer, one of the visiting justices, asked him to read, viz.: Paley's "Natural Theology" and Leslie's "Short and easy method with the Deists." Shortly after his liberation he published the two small books bearing titles resembling those of the books lent to him. One he named "Paley refuted in his own words," the fundamental argument of which is, that if the Creator be intelligent and personal, He must be organized, He must have a bodily form as all other designers have, and that He will, in consequence, as much require a maker as anything that He Himself has made. Mr. Holyoake's arguments were criticised very severely at the time, and if arguments were needed to prove the impolicy of the treatment to which he was subjected for the avowal of his conscientious opinions, they will be found in the importance given to the issue of his "refutation," for there are few books that can be said to have received so much attention. "A short and easy method with the Saints" was penned in the same place and under the same influence, and

we find him arguing that, as the terrors of the law were employed against him by professing Christians, "Christianity can never be wisely investigated while it retains its present principles; for power, not reason, is its grand evidence."

He moved to London, and for some months conducted "Improvement classes for the study of literary composition, logic, and oral investigation," at the London Theological Association, and he also taught with Mr. John Firmin in the South London Rational School. His spare time was occupied with work connected with the Anti-Persecution Union, it being his duty, as secretary, to keep before the public, cases of any victims of the blasphemy laws, and to assist in securing the repeal of those laws, which affected the free expression of theological opinions. In a short while he was able to exert a more practical influence in the service of the Union, for in the following December (1843) he, with M. Q. Ryall, commenced editing a weekly journal called *The Movement*, the distinctive features of which, were the dissemination of Republican politics, anti-theological principles, and utilitarian morality. The journal was not a success, and owing to Holyoake's lengthy and serious illness, that for many weeks his life was despaired of, Ryall became editor. Ryall was not the best man for such work, and on Holyoake's recovery he found *The Movement* greatly in debt. He instantly ceased its publication, and every claim upon it, even the salary of his coadjutor, was settled immediately after its cessation, and once again he was face to face with the difficulty of finding employment. The most important consideration connected with the collapse of *The Movement*, was the welfare of the Anti-Persecution Union, which was now left without an organ. To remedy this, Mr. Holyoake issued a monthly *Circular*, which dealt with purely Anti-Persecution Union matters.

Engaged as he had been, editing *The Movement* and discussing religious matters, he had found time to take up other questions, for early in 1844 he issued the first of a

series of educational works, "Practical Grammar." It is a well-conceived and admirably constructed treatise. Its canons are true and sound, and withal expressed with much simplicity and clearness. Perspicuity and terseness, are the characteristics of Holyoake's compositions, and the rules he lays down are calculated to facilitate the acquirement of these qualifications.

For some considerable time Holyoake had been a thorn in the side of the Owenites, whom he frequently subjected to friendly criticism, and this criticism he continued through *The Movement*, consistently calling in question the policy of Owen and the Central Board. On the 14th October he made a pilgrimage to Queenwood, and when there, it did not take him long to detect the reason of the failure of the Hampshire model community, and the justification for the opposition to the scheme exhibited at the several Congresses. Harmony was built on an estate of Sir Isaac Goldsmid's, and the Hall itself was erected by Mr. Hansom, the inventor of the cab bearing that name. After the failure of the scheme, the building was known as Queenswood College. An amusing account of this visit he published in December, 1844, under the title of "A visit to Harmony Hall," and in which he criticises Robert Owen and other Directors for extravagance and irregularities.

The question of community of labour and property, was about this time attracting so much attention throughout England, that notwithstanding the failure of Harmony Hall experiment, Mr. Holyoake, always an enthusiastic champion of the faith that was within him, came forward with a suggestive little work entitled "Rationalism," published in 1845. Holyoake lays down a few broad general truths, and then works round them just enough to excite the reader's mind to carry on the work himself. It launches the reader on a great ocean of progression and leaves him with glorious aims before him. Holyoake's arguments are clear, thoughtful, dignified and unmistakably convincing. It shows that the

young reformer, then but 28 years of age, was a man possessed of a thoughtful and acute mind. If his earlier works occasionally displayed hasty writing, it is not so with "Rationalism," which is carefully written, and pervaded by a high moral tone, which was the very keynote of the author's being. Mr. Holyoake premised that the high title of "Rationalism" can only be retained as expressive of the aim and tendency of Robert Owen's "New Views of Society."

In May, 1845, he accepted a lectureship to a society of Owenites which met in Great Hamilton Street, Glasgow, and a little later, the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows offered five prizes of £10 each for five new lectures on Charity, Truth, Knowledge, Science, and Progression, to be read to members of the Order in taking successive degrees. The lectures were to be written in a popular style, and to serve as an exposition of the leading principles of the Unity, and to afford instruction to Officers and Brothers in their respective duties. There were 79 competitors, some of them clergymen, and Mr. Holyoake, taking for his motto "Justitia Sufficit," was awarded the whole of the five prizes. These lectures were sanctioned and published by the Manchester Unity of 1846, but when it became known that he was the author, some apprehensive members questioned whether the Order ought to use the lectures written by an atheist. Later on, an attempt was made to attach the stigma of atheism to the Order of Oddfellows, on the ground of their acceptance of Holyoake's essays, but it was shown in reply that they were not atheistic; religion and politics being pronounced neutral questions by the Order, Holyoake had confined himself strictly to the ethical bearings of the subjects under consideration. Strangely enough, one gentleman who had previously offered £50 for the copyright of the "Progression" lecture, withdrew his offer so soon as the authorship was made known. When the first Friendly Societies' Bill was before the House of Commons, Dr. Wilberforce, the then Bishop of Oxford, objected to the legalization of the Order,

because of the authorship of the lectures, which he assumed must have some partisan views. The Grand Master, asked the Bishop to read the lectures, which he agreed to do, and afterwards admitted that they were strictly moral and neutral, and he withdrew his opposition to the passing of the Bill. The lectures are said to be read in the Order to this day.

For some six months he had been contributing to *The Herald of Progress*, the surviving organ of Owenism—*The New Moral World*, which for twelve years represented the co-operative movement, having already become defunct—and immediately he was in possession of the £50 prize money, he determined to publish a weekly journal in which he might continue the advocacy of co-operation, and the first number of *The Reasoner* with the watchwords “No poor” and “Co-operation instead of Competition” was issued on the 8rd of June, 1846, in which was incorporated *The Herald of Progress*. The journal, which was devoted to the advancement of socialism, contained many papers of forceful thought, written with considerable ability, and conducted with no small amount of tact. It seems to have been promoted with the object of bringing together the adherents of Robert Owen, who had become scattered through the failure of the “Harmony” experiment, and although advocating extreme opinions, philosophical, social and political, *The Reasoner* was free from that savage spirit of sectarian intolerance, which characterised some of the journalistic productions of the time disseminating like principles. It substituted argument for the sneers and ridicule of its contemporaries, and thus he did much to promote freedom, open mindedness, and toleration of all opinions. Indeed Mr. Holyoake began to startle some of his readers by his modified views in religion, and when asked if his sympathies did not show “a leaning to Goddism,” he replied, “It matters little where it leans, so long as there is truth in what it means. Sceptics should pride themselves on being eclectics in selecting the good wherever it appears.” The journal began by announcing

itself utilitarian in morals, and resting upon utility as a basis. In all reforms it took unequivocal interest, and only assailed theology when theology assailed utility. It aimed, not so much to create a party, as to establish a purpose. It threw aside the name of "infidel," because it was chiefly borne by men who were disbelievers in secret, but who had seldom the courage to avow it openly. It threw aside the term "sceptic" as the name of party, because it wished to put an end to a vain and a cavilling class, who had made the negation of theology a profession, and had taken advantage of their disbelief in the church, to disbelieve in honour and truth.

The "Practical Grammar" which he issued two years earlier, had been objected to by some critics, on the ground that it was hardly adapted for the younger classes of student. This occasioned the publication of "The Handbook of Grammar" as a sequel to it. The subject of grammar had hitherto been treated with so much pedantry, that Mr. Holyoake aimed to show most plainly that knowledge may be infused with a gaiety, which instead of weakening, strengthens the impression, insisted upon by the teacher; that grammar may be made, in the process of acquirement, a means of diffusing good temper as well as sound learning. The examples of composition scattered over the work, consist of passages of literary interest, a vast improvement on the unmeaning sentences generally made use of for a similar purpose, and even if viewed in that light only, the book had a distinct value.

At the request of the Central Board, Holyoake had, some years earlier, prepared a small work on Euclid for the use of classes in which he was interested, but it was not published until early in 1847, under the title "Mathematics no mystery." The aim of the author was to prescribe the limits of mathematical learning, defining what must be acquired and what may be neglected, to explain to youth the distinction between arithmetic and mathematics, which are usually confined to the class room, to give a more enlarged

view of their utility as a means of gauging the physical world, and to show their means of mental discipline. He was, about this time, contributing to *The Citizen*, and also to *The People's Press*, which was edited in the Isle of Man by Mr. William Shirrefs; at the same time he was interesting himself in the rights of women, engaging in temperance discussion, corresponding on educational and land schemes, and earnestly working in the cause of Chartism.

In April, 1848, Mr. W. J. Linton and Mr. Holyoake, agreed to jointly edit a new Chartist journal, entitled *The Cause of the People*, which they had printed in Douglas, Isle of Man, by Mr. William Shirrefs, the registered proprietor. The journal lasted only nine weeks, owing to the financial difficulties of Linton.

During all the excitement leading up to the Chartist demonstration, Holyoake had been quietly engaged in preparing another of his excellent little manuals of instruction, entitled "The Logic of Fact," afterwards published in seven twopenny parts between February and March, 1848, and later, in two sixpenny sections. The very name of logic is distasteful to most untaught persons, from its supposed dryness, but the young workmen of the time were indebted to Mr. Holyoake for making his subject neither dry nor dull, and for tracing the art of reasoning in a manner calculated to win the attention of even the most careless reader. Under varying titles this little book passed through many editions, the last being published by Messrs. Trübner & Co. in 1877.

He then accepted the editorship of *The Spirit of the Age*, which was purchased by Mr. William Ashurst in July, 1848. It was started to expound unsectarian socialism in England, and to defend all honest political and social reformers from the attacks of the calumnious and the ignorant. It was in this journal that he began the series of spirited political letters over the signature "Ion," which, as Miss Collet suggested, were as "bracing as quinine," and to which she gave the name "Ionics." After the collapse of *The Spirit of*

the Age, these letters were continued in *The Reasoner*, and later, in *The Leader*, when Thornton Hunt was Editor, and Froude, Landor, Meredith, Spencer, and "George Eliot" were fellow contributors. Although he was still editing *The Reasoner*, and unceasingly working to reform the Chartist movement, he commenced on the 29th of October, 1848, to prepare a most sympathetic and well-condensed "Life of Richard Carlile," the freethinker, which forms a noteworthy chapter in the history of the freedom of the press in England. This was followed by "Rudiments of public speaking and debate," a work of such distinguished excellence, that it survived innumerable other productions of a like nature, and has been in constant circulation to this day, indeed at the moment of going to press (August, 1908), the *Morning Leader* announces yet another impression of the popular edition, with the flattering tribute that "no public speaker, debater, or commercial man can afford to miss this work." It was also reprinted in America as far back as 1858. Wendell Phillips, the great abolitionist orator, told Holyoake that he had "studied it faithfully," until a friend relieved him of his "well-thumbed copy."

With the gradual decay of Chartism, came the death of one of its most advanced workers, the undaunted champion of the freedom of the press, an enlightened supporter of co-operative workshops, and one whose life had been pure and honourable. I refer to Henry Hetherington, whom Holyoake nursed during his last illness, which terminated in August, 1849. London was at this time so excited by the cholera which was then raging there, and of which Hetherington died, that an immense procession lined the funeral route along Euston and Marylebone Roads; and it was computed that 2,000 persons gathered at the grave side at Kensal Green Cemetery. Holyoake, for whom Hetherington showed strong attachment, was the "officiating clergyman" on that occasion, and he delivered an oration over the grave with the most impressive solemnity. This was shortly

after published for the benefit of Hetherington's survivors. For many months Holyoake had been working in so many directions and at such great pressure that he, too, suddenly fell ill, at a time when many persons were being carried away with the cholera, without opportunity or power to testify to the stability of those conclusions which had been arrived at when life was calm, and the understanding healthy.

Later in the year Mr. Holyoake was called upon to deliver several lectures on death "at a time when no man could calculate on life." In them he "recited the manner in which the atheist reasoned upon death," and subsequently published his views under the title "The Logic of Death," in which he aimed to show that virtue is the only preparation for death, and that a good man, whatever his religious opinions, need not fear to die. In this book he affords ample proof of the power of mind over matter, and its superiority over all external circumstances, and at the same time he manifests the boldness of the mind's daring in wrestling with subjects of most terrific moment to man. His assault upon theological matters has now become almost robbed of its sting; but when the book was first issued its circulation and influence was enormous, as may be gathered from the fact that it went through over 100 editions. Apart from the intellectual clearness and vigour which runs through the composition, as well as the force with which many of the observations are pointed, the whole of the essay is elevated and slightly optimistic, though here and there we come upon a doleful estimate of the desolate state of poor humanity, bearing the burden of life. The following passage is a fair summary of the book:—"Holding by no conscious error, doing no dishonour in thought, and offering his homage to love and truth, why should a man fear to die? . . . If we choose to live as free men, let us at least have the dignity to die so, nor discredit the privilege of liberty by an unmanly bearing. If we have the merit of integrity, we should also have its peace: while we have the destiny of suffering, we should not have

less than its courage! The truth is, if we do not know how to die, it is because we do not know how to live."

With the issue of "The Logic of Death" in 1850, Holyoake also published the first monthly number of *The People's Review*, edited by himself and others. The journal was thoroughly democratic in its aim and tendency, and was boldly and skillfully written. This, however, ceased with the third number in April, 1850, chiefly through lack of funds, and he then joined the staff of *The Leader*, with which he was connected until it ceased, using the signature "Ion."

The "History of the Last Trial for Atheism," upon which Holyoake had been engaged for some years, appeared in the following September. The narrative he gives of the trial and what led up to it, is graphic, and touching. The history is useful and especially interesting as illustrating the intolerance which was, in the early forties, considered a virtue.

In little more than three months he reprinted from *The Reasoner* several articles entitled "Catholicism, the religion of fear," which had reference to the Anti-Roman agitation, and is a criticism of Father Pinamonti's book bearing the coarse title "Hell opened to Christians." In this volume Mr. Holyoake reproduces from Pinamonti's book eight atrocious plates representing Hell, giving one a painful idea of what an extreme Roman Catholic thought and taught respecting future punishment.

His next publication was a reprint from *The Leader* of June 21st, 1851, issued for gratuitous circulation at the Great Exhibition of that year. This pamphlet entitled "The workman and the International Exhibition" was signed "Ion," the first time Holyoake used the pseudonym in a separate publication. The aim was to draw attention to the moral and social deformity and grim misery, which was hidden beneath the pomp and splendour of the "World's Fair," and to show that the articles worn by well-to-do people, were fashioned by men and women pale with consumption and grim with want.

Mr. Holyoake's political sympathies were unbounded. His thoughts went forth to all who struggled to be free, and this led to his taking part in Mazzini's efforts for the Unity of Italy. He issued "One thousand shillings for European Freedom," a pamphlet appealing for shilling subscriptions, and the actual number received was nine thousand.

It is most difficult to follow the progress of Holyoake's mind and views, but whilst it was believed that he adhered to the old atheistic doctrine, he was devising a system of secular principles apart from atheism and theism, maintaining that wherever a moral end was sought, there was a secular as well as a religious part to it. If he was an atheist, his atheism was not of that stamp which savagely attacked everything that the Christian held sacred. Holyoake was never vulgar, but the scholar and the gentleman, and the respecter of the opinions of others, as may be gathered from a perusal of the next book he published entitled "The philosophic type of religion as developed by Professor Newman." In the examination of the theistic argument contained in Newman's "The soul," Holyoake characterises the work as "conceived in the highest genius of proselytism, which must command respect for the religious sentiment wherever it is read." Holyoake had a great admiration for F. W. Newman, and doubtless he was considerably influenced by the Professor. In any case it is very evident that the faith of Newman, so clearly expressed in "The soul," had attracted Holyoake for some two years before he published his objections to the book, and the consideration of it had given to his thought, a higher tone and colour, than it formerly possessed.

In the course of Mr. Holyoake's work as a co-operative missionary, he soon found that confusion arose from theology being mixed up with matters of social reform. This led to his founding secularism, which he thus defines, "It is the study of promoting human welfare by material means; measuring

human welfare by the utilitarian rule, and making the service of others a duty of life. Secularism relates to the present existence of man, having for its object the development of the physical, intellectual, and moral nature of man, to the highest point, as the immediate duty of society, inculcating the practical sufficiency of natural morality apart from Atheism, Theism, or Christianity." He first used the term Secularism in 1850, when his offer to speak on secular education was accepted, showing that what afterwards came to be known as secularism was much in his thoughts then; but it was not until 1852, the year of the Manchester Conference, that he began to frame his plans of religious campaign under that name, and to publish pamphlets and deliver lectures in explanation of his system. In propagating his views he also took part in many debates and discussions throughout Great Britain, notably with John Bowes, David King, Henry Townley, Brewin Grant, Dr. Brindley, and other militant exponents of orthodoxy, whom he always treated with gentleness, despite the ferocity with which some of them assailed him, notably Brewin Grant and Brindley. He made many friends in this way, and when his hearers remained unconvinced by his arguments, they were constrained to admire his fairness and sincerity. The first public discussion was with Mr. Passmore Edwards, who was one of the earliest to support the idea of issuing a halfpenny newspaper. A discussion lasting four nights took place in 1850, with John Bowes on "The truth of Christianity and the folly of infidelity," in which Mr. Holyoake endeavoured to impress upon the minds of his hearers the extreme difference between the idea of responsibility to an understandable contract between man and man, and the Christian idea of responsibility to the Creator of his finite creatures, who live, move, and have their being from Him. Although Mr. Holyoake had taken part in many similar debates, this was the first to be published, and was followed by the publication of a discussion with David King on "What is the Christian

system?" and "What are its legitimate effects?" In the year 1852 he carried on a discussion with Henry Townley of Bishopsgate Chapel on the question "Is there sufficient proof of the existence of a God?" The speeches of the two disputants were afterwards published with that title. In the book Mr. Townley contends that as we are all in search of happiness, and as prudence ought never to be lost sight of, it is our duty to believe in the existence of a God. Mr. Holyoake on the other hand denies that happiness is the primary object of search. He held that truth should be that object, and that we should rest satisfied, that a courageous allegiance to truth will secure the largest amount of good. Mr. Townley's argument for the existence of a God as a Being distinct from nature is the Paley argument of design. Mr. Holyoake retorts that we can form no conception at all of a Being totally distinct from nature; we can only express him by negations, and this because we have no actual conception of a Personal Being at all.

He published in 1852, the second volume of "The Cabinet of Reason"—a little series which he edited—entitled "Why do the clergy avoid discussion and the philosophers discountenance it?" The issue of the book resulted in several debates taking place in different parts of the country, notably a six nights' discussion with Brewin Grant, who had been chosen by Samuel Morley and others to conduct a three years' mission to refute secularistic views. Grant was quick, witty, lynx-eyed, and satirical; but there was too much personality; too much imputation of motive, and in his speeches too little regard for feeling and character. There was also a want of depth, power, pathos and splendour in his exhibitions of Christian truth. He tried to cover his antagonist with confusion, but left him almost untouched. With Holyoake there was no skilful punning, no sly raillery, but solid, logical, stern argument. He was thoughtful, ingenuous, eloquent and earnest, animated without vehemence, and severe without grossness. The subject of debate was

"What advantages would accrue to mankind generally, and the working classes in particular, by the removal of Christianity, and the substitution of secularism in its place?" Each disputant had a Chairman; Mr. Samuel Morley acted for Grant and the Rev. Ebenezer Syme for Holyoake, while the Rev. Howard Hinton, of Devonshire Square Chapel, did duty as umpire.

In 1849, Mr. Holyoake planned the issue of a series of children's books, commencing with one on the alphabet, containing plates sketched from nature, intended to serve both as reading, drawing and colouring books. Up to this time any abortion in drawing and any medley in colouring, had been considered sufficient for a child, but Holyoake's Sheffield experience as a teacher, proved to him that the child needed something more, and he determined with the assistance of Mr. Linton, to carry some of the beauties of nature and refinement of art, to the fireside of the mechanic and the cottager, and to teach the child the first rudiments of reading and writing. The four booklets he issued between 1852 and 1854—"First letter book," "Second letter book," "First reading book," and "First word book"—may thus be described as a contribution to the education of the little ones. The great feature of Holyoake's children's books were Linton's illustrations.

Mr. Holyoake debated for three nights in August, 1858, with Dr. Rutherford of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne School of Science and Art, on the subject of "*Christianity versus Secularism*," and the debate was published early in the following year, under the above-mentioned title. Later in the same year, he published a criticism of Chartism in a little treatise entitled "*Organisation: not of arms, but ideas*," which formed the third volume of "*The Cabinet of Reason*" series. In this volume he offers hints to those who would unite to work together for any purpose consistent with principle, and suggests that violent action was altogether unnecessary.

Up to the year 1858, Holyoake's books had been published

mainly by J. Watson, but on the 26th of May in that year, an interesting party composed of Thornton Hunt, Thomas Cooper, Le Blond, R. Cooper, and some 200 others, met at the Freemasons' Tavern, Lincoln's Inn Fields, to present Mr. Holyoake with £250 and an engraved portrait of himself, as a tribute to his mode of advocating the right of all men to utter their opinions in fearless confidence. With this money he purchased the publishing business of J. Watson, then in Queen's Head Passage, but before the year was out, he found it necessary to remove to Fleet Street House, 147, Fleet Street, which became the centre for secularist propaganda and political activity, and the first treatise he published on the subject was "Secularism the affirmative philosophy of the people," written at the request of several friends for a brief and general statement of secularism. The book resulted in another discussion with the Rev. Brewin Grant, that most unfair of all controversialists, yet Mr. Brewin Grant helped the public the better to arrive at an accurate estimate of Holyoake's character and spirit. The arguments of both combatants were bound together and published at Glasgow, and were read by thousands of persons who would probably never have read Mr. Holyoake's views, had they been published separately. It is impossible for anyone to read the arguments of both sides, and not be struck by the contrast in the spirit which animated the two debaters. The verbal quips and dexterous hair-splittings of Mr. Grant, were calculated to damage the best cause, and many adherents of Christianity were heartily ashamed of their champion, and greatly drawn towards the opponent who displayed a spirit so much fairer and more tolerant. On one occasion in Scotland when he was engaged to debate with a Christian champion, it was proposed to open the debate with prayer. Mr. Holyoake agreed on condition that he should be permitted to offer prayer also. His opponent dropped the proposal with horror, but when Holyoake came to explain in print, his prayer simply

amounted to a petition that the truth should have the victory.

He was one of the most earnest advocates of the repeal of the taxes on knowledge. One of his experiences was to be sued by the Government for publishing newspapers on unstamped paper, and it was perhaps his labours and triumphs in the cause of a "free press" which, as much as anything else, brought honour to his name. Early in the thirties the price of a newspaper was 7d., including the 4d. revenue tax. In 1836 it was reduced by 3d., and in 1849 Holyoake became one of the active and enterprising members of an association, formed to secure the exemption of the press from all taxation. The existence of taxes on knowledge, by which is meant the advertisement tax, the stamp tax, and the duty on paper, was an impediment to the diffusion of co-operation as well as other forms of opinion, so that as editor of *The Reasoner* he did magnificent service in fighting for a press, unshackled by a crushing impost. In 1853 he wrote letters to the Right Hon. Milner Gibson, M.P., in which he examined the arguments advanced to the Government in justification of the proceedings against the unstamped press. These two letters were afterwards published in *The Leader*, and later still, in a pamphlet with the title "The Government and the working man's press." In these days, as in the days of Carlile and Hetherington, his home and publishing office were liable to be entered by the Revenue officials, his books seized, his presses broken up, his type destroyed, and everybody on the premises arrested. For many weeks he made daily preparation for such a visitation, but notwithstanding this, he threw himself heartily into the movement for the abolition of the "taxes on knowledge," as Leigh Hunt aptly termed it, by undertaking the publication of unstamped newspapers; and in the attempt, it is said, that he incurred penalties to the extent of £600,000. When it is remembered that each copy of a paper sold without a stamp meant £20 fine and possible imprison-

ment, it was not likely that he specially wanted to publish *The War Chronicle*, *War Fly Sheets*, &c., without a stamp, merely to open a way for the diffusion of his own opinion, but that he regarded the "tax on knowledge" as an impediment to liberty of thought and speech. The position thus created by pushing the law to its logical confines, seems to have staggered the Treasury authorities, who appealed to Mr. Gladstone in the matter of a prosecution. His reply was, that "he knew Mr. Holyoake's object was not to break the law, but to test it." Mr. Gladstone shortly afterwards repealed the tax which fettered the press, but Holyoake did not cease the issue of his *War Fly Sheet* until twelve days after the repeal received the Royal assent on 15th June, 1855. He was, I believe, the last person against whom a warrant was issued by the Crown, for publishing unstamped newspapers in support of the society for repealing the taxes on knowledge. The repeal of the Act, however, caused the prosecution to be abandoned, and the fines still remain uncollected.

Another experience, was that of being summoned for the payment of tithes by the vicar of St. Bride's, Fleet Street. In November, 1854, the tax collector demanded 12s. 4d., the amount of two quarters' tithes, at a time when Mr. Holyoake was in Glasgow taking part in a six nights' debate with the Rev. Brewin Grant, and in consequence of the non-payment of the amount, three reams of paper were seized, value £1 12s. 3d. After other similar seizures Holyoake hit upon a device for terminating the persecution by sending the Vicar payment "in kind"—the chief product of his Fleet Street House—consisting of three bound volumes of his journal *The Reasoner*. Needless to say, he was not troubled again by the Vicar, to contribute to an ecclesiastical institution from which he differed in every particular.

In 1855 he was asked to make reply in the Literary Institution, John Street, to the six Unitarian lectures

delivered on the authority of the London District Unitarian Society. This reply he published in pamphlet form under the title "Secularism distinguished from Unitarianism." It represents Secularism as the system which endeavours to find "calculable causes, that progress may no longer be a vague or capricious aspiration, but a serious scientific pursuit in which the steps shall be definite, measured and reliable." In 1856 he held a debate with Dr. Frederick Lees on Teetotalism and the Maine Law, which was afterwards published by Dr. Lees.

His journalistic work during these years was very extensive, for while he was still editing *The Reasoner*, he was able to devote time to the management of *The Leader*, both of which papers were most useful in the campaign he was then engaged in. Apart from his connection with these two journals he was contributing to *The Morning and Evening Star*, and was engaged in writing several pamphlets and leaflets. His next important work was "The Case of Thomas Pooley," which was reprinted from *The Reasoner*. It was a report of his mission into Cornwall, to investigate the case of Pooley, who had been condemned at the Bodmin Assizes by Justice Coleridge, to 21 months' imprisonment, for scribbling in chalk some incoherent words upon the gate of the Rev. Paul Bush, which were construed as "a scandalous, blasphemous and profane libel on the Holy Scriptures." The publication of Mr. Holyoake's views of the injustice of the sentence, led to a severe attack upon Mr. Justice Coleridge by Thomas Henry Buckle, and the release of Pooley, after four months' imprisonment.

On the 14th June, 1858, under the title "The Trial of Theism," he published the history of a fifteen years' discussion and propagandism, and an examination of the chief forms of religion, into which he had been brought into controversial contact. To prevent misunderstanding, Holyoake styles himself a Cosmist, who contends that the evidence for the existence of the Deity is insufficient to warrant his belief.

Towards a feasible God, he maintains a position of reverent neutrality, with, however, a marked inclination to the opinion that "the God whom we seek is the Nature which we know." He thinks Nature too glorious to be degraded to a secondary rank, and every way worthy of holding the first place in man's regard. Atheism and theism seemed to Mr. Holyoake, mere academical questions, compared with the knowledge of the universe and the secular uses of the world. It is a very thoughtful, artistic and readable book, "full of ability, of eloquence, and of the manliest as well as most touching evidences of honourable and kindly dealing towards all men." A later and revised edition bore the title "The trial of Theism, accused of obstructing secular life."

The influence of the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers, in promoting the intellectual and moral education of the working men, is well exhibited by Mr. Holyoake in his "Self-help by the people," the first part of which he issued in 1858. The crowning merit of the Society, was felt to be their having emancipated thousands of operatives of Rochdale, from a degrading state of perpetual indebtedness. The story, illustrating the great problem of social and political science, has the charm of romance about it, for it is full of life and stir and variety of incident. The point on which main stress is laid, is the contradistinction of co-operative associations from ordinary joint stock companies or partnerships. Mr. Holyoake's definition of co-operative doctrine was, that immediate labour was mainly entitled to profits. The gracefulness of his story led to its reproduction in every European language—creating quite a sensation among the workmen of Lyons—while in England, it was a seed from which sprang 250 co-operative societies in two years. The Blaydon store was the outcome of the book, chapters of which were read to the pitmen at night by Joseph Cowen, M.P. The book went through many editions, several times being published without the permission or knowledge of the author. On one occasion it was printed, and a copy sent to Mr.

Holyoake, with a request for permission to sell it without his name on the title, which request was readily granted. Holyoake oddly enough, never reserved to himself the right of reproduction, nor did he ever make any conditions as to reprints of his works, being quite contented if others thought his writings useful in any way. Holyoake sent a copy of "Self-help" to Robert Owen, the founder of the co-operative movement, from whom he received a commendatory acknowledgment, with advice as to the direction his future efforts should take for social progress; but the ever-visionary enthusiastic Robert Owen could not realise that younger ideas were working in a more practical direction. Holyoake, with characteristic gentleness and consideration, preferred to humour the master in his old age, but at the same time, to quietly ignore his suggestions. In two or three months Owen was dead, and Holyoake, after many times delivering a discourse on his death, published his tribute of praise and admiration in "The life and last days of Robert Owen, of New Lanark," which showed that although his admiration of Owen was tempered by discrimination and a perception of his old friend's impracticability, he was in no small measure a hero-worshipper.

The same year, he published a little brochure, insisting that the franchise should be extended to those who could pass a political examination. As an aid to this educational test he suggested that such a work as Mill's "Principles of political economy," or some work of equal reputation, might be taken as the text book, but it was urged that an imperative intelligence suffrage would disenfranchise half the magistrates of the country! The pamphlet represented four letters addressed to Lord John Russell on the "cheap vote," "the utility of a municipal franchise," "protection to working class interests," &c., and was published with the title "The workman and the suffrage." This work was followed by "The principles of secularism briefly explained," which went through four editions, and in 1859 by another notable

contribution to social reform, "The social means of promoting temperance," in which he aimed to show the errors made in its advocacy. Early in the year he submitted a report of Fleet Street House, embodying an appeal for further support, and for nearly twelve months afterwards he was laid aside with a serious illness which precluded all attempt at literary work, *The Reasoner* in his absence being edited by Percy Greg. Early in the year 1860 he was well enough to take up his work again, but only three leaflets on controversial subjects were published.

Thomas Cooper, the author of "The purgatory of suicides," having delivered a series of lectures in Derby, Mr. Holyoake was desirous of replying to them, and applied for the use of the suitable halls in that town, but was refused in each case. He thereupon published "Thomas Cooper delineated as convert and controversialist" in 1861, and in the same year "The Logic of life" was written to explain those secular principles, on which life could be conducted apart from Christianity, by persons who happened not to profess that form of faith. He was presented with £500 in May, 1861, and the circular headed, Fleet Street May Meeting, which announced that an assembly would be held in Anderton's Hotel to congratulate Mr. Holyoake on the extinction of the liabilities of the Fleet Street House, must have given him a considerable amount of satisfaction. A sum of £650 had already been presented to him in 1858, both gifts being on account of political and other services in the publication of proscribed opinion; in endeavours to diffuse among the working classes dispassionate principles of advocacy, and on account of legal risks incurred in aiding questions of public liberty.

Mr. Holyoake had unbounded admiration for Garibaldi and Mazzini, the latter of whom he frequently met at meetings at Aubrey House, the residence of Mr. Peter A. Taylor, M.P. He was occupied for some months, early and late, with the Garibaldi Legion, for he was Secretary and the principal spirit in enlisting and despatching an English contingent

to the help of Garibaldi in his Sicilian campaign. The Committee met weekly at Fleet Street House, which was at times so full of Garibaldi volunteers making enquiries, that customers and newsagents could not get into the house to transact business. In October he published in *The Counsellor* an earnest appeal for an expression of British sympathy towards the Italians in their struggle for independence, and for funds to aid in their emancipation. This appeal was afterwards issued in pamphlet form, with the title "What may England yet do for Italy?"

"The outlaws of freethought," "In the matter of the Affirmation Bill," "The limits of atheism; or, why should sceptics be outlaws," "Affirmation and appeal cases," were four pamphlets on the question of legal equality which Mr. Holyoake next published. In them he urged that all persons who conscientiously objected to taking the oath should be allowed to make a solemn affirmation in cases where the oath was ordinarily administered, and after endeavours extending over 20 years, he was chiefly instrumental in causing a Bill to be passed in 1869, which legalised purely secular affirmation in Courts of Law, by which co-operative property was largely secured, since many of the most influential co-operators previously objected to taking the oath. Mr. Holyoake himself had often incurred commercial losses through refusing to take the oath, and the following incident will go some way to showing the intolerance of the Bench, even as late as 1852, and that more indulgence was shown to avowed murderers than to those who had the misfortune to differ from the judge in religious opinion. A bankrupt tailor, having applied to the Court, over which Mr. Commissioner Phillips presided, to be discharged on bail till the hearing of the case, Mr. Holyoake presented himself as one of the sureties. Before the oath was taken the insolvent's attorney handed, at Holyoake's request, the following document to the Commissioner: —

"This gentlemen wishes to state to your Honour that

upon a late occasion, when called upon to make oath on a Chancery suit, he, before being sworn, obtained permission of the judge to declare that while the oath was legally binding on his conscience, it was not a profession of his faith, and he prays leave to make the same declaration now."

Commissioner Phillips asked Holyoake what he meant. Did he mean that by it not being a profession of his faith, that it was not on the faith of a Christian? Mr. Holyoake answered "Yes!" Mr. Phillips asked: "What do you call yourself?" to which the answer, "A secularist," was promptly given. Commissioner Phillips then asked what he meant by secularist. Mr. Holyoake: "One who gives precedence to the duties of this life over considerations which pertain to another world." Commissioner Phillips: "Do you believe in a God?" Mr. Holyoake: "I am not prepared to say." Commissioner Phillips: "Not prepared to say whether you believe in a God! You put yourself forward in a court of justice, and bring scandal upon it, by saying that you are not prepared to say whether you believe in the Deity! Go and attend to your 'secular' business!" Mr. Holyoake, who had some days previously made an affidavit of bail, stood down and made his way out of court, and the insolvent went back to prison. There may be some doubt whether Mr. Holyoake had the quality of an atheist, but it cannot be denied Commissioner Phillips lacked the quality of a Christian, in sheltering himself behind his judicial robe to insult an unoffending man of unsullied repute and distinguished sincerity in thought and speech.

With the June issue of *The Reasoner*, that journal, which seems to have been conducted at a considerable loss to Mr. Holyoake, came to a close, but in less than a month a limited company had been formed and he had started a new monthly publication, *The Counsellor*, which was intended to be merely a provisional paper to maintain a communication with the Secular party, and as a medium

for co-operative information. It ceased with the fifth number in December, when, upon the invitation of Mr. Bradlaugh to merge *The Counsellor* in *The National Reformer*, much against the wish of his friends, he entered into an agreement to become one of the contributing editors of the latter journal with the absolute control of four pages; but for some reason, Bradlaugh terminated the agreement on March 15th, which caused a considerable amount of trouble between the two men. Attempts have since been made to justify Mr. Bradlaugh's action, and to find more or less adequate motives to justify it. Inasmuch as Holyoake's reputation was not enhanced by this coadjutor editorship, and was certainly not diminished by its cessation, Mr. Bradlaugh's somewhat covert "plan of campaign" may, as far as the subject of this sketch is concerned, safely be left in oblivion. Mr. Holyoake, who was the most tolerant of even the most tolerant party, feeling that secularism needed now, more than ever, some accredited mouthpiece in the press, began a long projected journal, *The Secular World and Social Economist* (May, 1862), and although the aim of the new journal was much the same as that of *The Reasoner*, so far as secular matters were concerned, co-operative topics were now to receive a greater share of attention, as may be gathered by Mr. Holyoake's announcement at the time, that the Social Economist section would be "devoted to the development and vindication of co-operation."

For quite ten years he had been working solidly in the cause of secularism, and indeed, he was the only leader above the level of mediocrity, which secularism could boast; but owing to others taking the field whom he thought were likely to bring discredit into secular ranks, he partially abandoned it in favour of the co-operative movement. This attitude would lead one to assume that he had been, to some extent, unconsciously influenced by Robert Owen, who just before his death advised Holyoake to give less time in the

cause of secularism, and to devote his energies in the direction of co-operation. Be this as it may, it was quite another ten years before he published any substantial work on secularism, in the cause of which he had hitherto so strenuously laboured. From the titles of the books which he published during those years, and from the nature of his lectures and articles in various journals, it will be seen that he gradually rejected theological discussion in favour of those of a social character. In the Political Economy Section of the Social Science Congress, held at the Guildhall in 1862, Mr. Holyoake read a paper on the moral causes which frustrate co-operation, which, to quote *The Times*, "evinced all the well-known vigour and sarcasm of his touch, and exhibited at the same time a very intimate acquaintance with the subject he had selected." At the close of the paper the Rev. Mr. Solly expressed a wish that the paper, with slight modifications, should be printed and be put in the hands of all working men, and it was accordingly published under the title "Moral errors which endanger the permanence of co-operative societies." Mr. Holyoake pointed out that while the financial errors of co-operation had had copious attention, the moral errors had received little or none. Yet the moral conditions of co-operative success lay deeper, extended further, and operated more continuously than financial ones. He further held that the moral obstacle which constantly frustrated co-operative success, and dissipated it when it was achieved, were the difficulty of acting with, and tolerating, people one disliked, trusting those in whom one had no confidence, the difficulty of creating personal authority and prohibiting offensive imputations, as well as the difficulty of viewing with satisfaction, and personally promoting, the growing prosperity and influence of those considered to be unworthy. The book is really an appeal to co-operators to follow the advice of Robert Owen to "agree to consider the errors of mankind as proceeding more from defect of knowledge than defect of goodness," and thus give

permanence to the co-operative movement, instead of wrecking it by the moral errors adverted to.

When in 1862 and 1868, Bishop Colenso published his examination of the Pentateuch, the work received so much attention by the critics because of his supposed biblical heresies, that many expected he would give up his office as Bishop. Dr. John Cumming at the time lectured against the Bishop, and in 1868 published an attack upon him in a work entitled "Moses right and Bishop Colenso wrong." Mr. Holyoake under an assumed name, "A London Zulu," replied to Dr. Cumming's effusion in a clever and amusing pamphlet entitled "Cumming wrong, Colenso right." It exhibited the genuine admiration and respect, which the Bishop excited in the minds of those whom the world generally termed sceptics, and while Mr. Holyoake speaks with the utmost freedom, there is nothing in the tone of the pamphlet hostile to religion, but rather an indication of a readiness to welcome its diffusion, if only it be purged from what he considered to be corruption.

Mr. Holyoake, in 1863, contributed to the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* a statement of the case of Mrs. Ryves, who claimed the rank and title of Princess Lavinia of Cumberland, on the ground that she was the granddaughter of the Duke of Cumberland and Olive Wilmot. This he afterwards published in separate form, under the title "A suppressed Princess." It is certainly the best account of the claim that has been printed, and is a most sympathetic appeal for justice. Three years later, early in 1866, Mrs. Ryves petitioned the Court to declare her legitimacy, but a notice of motion given by Mr. Chambers in March, 1866, for leave to bring in a Bill "To restrain the operation of the Legitimacy Declaration Act," had the effect of barring the proceedings instituted by Mrs. Ryves.

At this time Mr. Holyoake was engaged in journalistic work for *The Daily News*, *The Newcastle Chronicle*, and other newspapers, and on the 14th November, 1864, he reported the public execution of Franz Muller for *The*

Morning and Evening Star, in which he gave a vivid picture of the scene before Newgate. A few days later several papers protested against the spectacle supplied by the official hangman, and doubtless the report, supported by other journals deploring the state of things then existing, helped materially towards the abolition of capital punishment in the open street. At the request of several gentlemen interested in the reformation of the hanging method, Holyoake's report was reprinted in a pamphlet, bearing the title "Public lessons of the hangman," agitating for the private execution of prisoners under sentence of death. Shortly after the issue of the pamphlet the grand jury at Manchester protested against public executions in that city, and advised that they should take place within the precincts of the gaol for the Hundred of Salford, and later still, these public exhibitions were abolished by Parliament.

In 1864, while staying with friends in Cheltenham, the scene, it will be remembered, of his arrest for blasphemy more than twenty years earlier, Mr. Holyoake was invited to deliver a lecture upon "The changes in religious opinion in England since 1841." The Corn Exchange was engaged for the purpose, and the lecture advertised, but an hour before the time at which it was to be delivered, the Lord of the Manor intervened at the instigation of the local authorities, who, still mindful of "The last trial for atheism" were not disposed to allow that event to be repeated, and Mr. Holyoake was denied access to the building. There followed a meeting of protest under the chairmanship of the editor of *The Cheltenham Herald*, who expressed his indignation that the town was again exposed to the derision of the country by an act of petty intolerance. Arrangements were concluded for the delivery of the lecture, first at one place and then another; but the police effectually frustrated these intentions, and finally he was induced to print an abstract of his intended lecture, which he published with the title "The suppressed lecture at Cheltenham."

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Since 1862 he had been editing his *Secular World*, which ceased with the June issue in 1864.

A week later he had launched a new weekly, *The English Leader*, which sought "to promote associative communication between the industrious classes of England and those of the Continent, the Colonies and America, as well as to extend at home, reliable information of the emigrant fields abroad, and be a medium for correcting the misrepresentations of the Press, as to the movement of the European nationalities struggling for freedom." The early numbers contained the history of Garibaldi's memorable visit to England in 1864, of his famous entry into London on the 11th April, and of a certain outrage occurring on that day, not elsewhere reported. *The English Leader* temporarily ceased with the 20th issue on the 15th October, 1864, and in the following year it was succeeded by *The Reasoner*, which, in its turn, gave place to the revived *English Leader* in January, 1866.

Mr. Holyoake read two papers at the 1865 Social Science Congress, and these he published under the respective titles "Excluded evidence on the ground of speculative opinion," and "Partnerships of industry," and in April of that year, he contributed to the reform agitation, a very timely pamphlet on "The Liberal situation," a reprint from the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, of a communication he addressed to Joseph Cowen, Jun., a month earlier, dealing with an intelligence franchise. He also reprinted from that journal about the same time, a review of American spiritualism under the title "Public performances of the dead," a pamphlet of twelve pages, in which he exposed the proceedings of the Davenport Brothers. The following year he was invited to edit for Messrs. Cassell a two-penny weekly called *The Working Man*, and as the aim of the journal was to describe the life of the operative classes, he was pledged not to contribute to any other journal on industrial topics. He had not occupied the editorial chair many months before it was discovered that the tendency of his articles was in the direction of politics

favouring the Liberal side, and he was then asked to contribute a column of "Town Talk" or social chat for *The Newport Advertiser*, the Stratford-upon-Avon and other provincial journals. He could not, however, restrain himself from touching upon politics, and his engagement ceased after contributing some thirty special articles between January 1st and June 24th, 1867.

The question of parliamentary reform was now concerning the minds of the people, and Mr. Gladstone introduced a Bill in March, embodying proposals for a considerable enlargement of the franchise. The "Adullamite" section of the Liberals had, however, seceded from their party, and the Bill, after a fierce debate, was carried by only five votes. In June the Government was defeated on an amendment, and the Bill withdrawn. Then in 1867, Mr. Holyoake drew up the text of a petition, urging that the enfranchisement of the entire resident and industrious population was desirable, which Mr. John Stuart Mill presented to the House of Commons.

Holyoake's chief aim consisted in tracing the rise and progress of co-operation, a work for which he was better qualified than any other writer. Nine years earlier (in 1858) he had related in stirring style, rivalling romance, the unremitting efforts of the Rochdale pioneers from their beginning in 1844 down to 1857, and now in the year 1867, he finished his cheering and instructive story of the growth of the Halifax Industrial Society, and published it with the title "The History of Co-operation in Halifax," part of which had been submitted to the York meeting of the Social Science Congress in 1864, and the next year he wrote the "Life of Lord Brougham" for Farrah's "Penny Lives of British Statesmen" series.

As far back as 1710, a Bill authorising vote by ballot passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. It was not until the agitation for parliamentary reform, which resulted in the Reform Bill in 1832, that the question received any

attention, but when it was discovered that the Bill introduced by Lord John Russell made no provision for secret voting, great disappointment was felt. It was thought that the ministry did not intend to follow the Reform Act by a Ballot Act, so Mr. George Grote took the matter up, making his first motion in favour of it in April 1835, and repeated it every year until 1839, when his place was taken by Mr. Henry Berkeley, who in 1851 carried his motion in spite of the opposition of Lord John Russell. "Vote by ballot" was one of the six points agreed upon by those who demanded the People's Charter, and perhaps the one to which the greatest importance was attached, while Mr. Holyoake had been for years quietly advocating it as the only efficient safeguard against bribery and intimidation. With the extension of the franchise he renewed his efforts to that end, and in January, 1868, he gave an address in St. James's Hall on the subject. On this occasion, he not only dealt with John Stuart Mill's objections to it, but showed that its adoption would put an end to some of the evils in the electoral system, and that it would tend to mitigate, rather than aggravate, those which it did not entirely remove. The Reform League subsequently induced Mr. Holyoake to publish his address, and it appeared under the title "A New Defence of the Ballot," of which no less than nine editions appeared during the year 1868. The "Defence" drew from Mr. John Bright the remark that it afforded the only original argument for the ballot, he himself had seen.

Early in 1868, he became editor and joint proprietor of *The Industrial Partnerships Record*, which two months later became *The Social Economist*. This was the only paper which represented the commercial aspect of co-operation and made its readers acquainted with the originality of Continental ideas of co-operation; but as there had long been an expressed desire for an official paper of combined attraction and influence, Mr. Holyoake and Mr. Greening, with the true co-operative spirit, were the first to set the example by

suspending *The Social Economist*, in order that *The Co-operative News* might be the collective organ of co-operation.

In this year he offered himself as Labour candidate for Birmingham, but retired from the field rather early, although he went to the length of issuing an address on "Working-class Representation," reprinted in the December number of *The Reasoner*, and afterwards published in a separate form, bearing that title. In the pamphlet he discusses various questions in his usual perspicuous and practical style, pointing out, that the working men who desired to be represented by their own class, must levy a political tax upon themselves, to provide a fund for electoral purposes, and the benefits likely to result from working-class influence on legislation he suggested, would be the disestablishment of the Irish Church, compulsory education, reduction of pauperism, and the introduction of the ballot. If his manifesto did not secure for him a seat in the House of Commons, it served the purpose he had hoped for, and that was the immediate formation of a Labour Representation League, on the Council of which he was a prominent member.

In 1869 Holyoake submitted a proposal to Mr. John Bright, that the British Government should obtain reports of the conditions of the working classes abroad, from the Secretaries of Legation in foreign countries. Mr. Bright placed the scheme before Lord Clarendon, then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who accepted and acted upon the suggestion, and in writing the secretaries of embassies abroad, Lord Clarendon gave the credit of the proposal to Mr. Holyoake. As a result the diplomatic and consular service took cognisance of these matters, and the Government published three volumes of reports, afterwards known as "The People's Blue Books." The salient features of the Blue Books were, that they reported the purchasing power of money abroad as compared with its power in Great Britain, so that a working man might know if he earns £2 a week at home or £4 a week abroad, whether he will be better or worse off; how workmen

are hired and housed there; what difficulties would have to be contended with, and what provision as to clothing they must make, etc. At the end of February, 1870, Mr. Herbert Skeats asked Mr. Holyoake to write a pamphlet for the Society for the liberation of religion from State control. The pamphlet was to be entitled, "What good does the Church do to the State," but the writer unfortunately has not been able to obtain a copy.

In the service of freethought Holyoake had filled a considerable and certainly an amazingly useful place for nearly thirty years, amid struggles of marked and even memorable severity, which, however, on his part had been conducted without acrimony, and by action untainted by personal bitterness or contentious egotism. He had not only fought the battle of freethought, but he had organized its forces, and made them count on the side of political and social progress and freedom, and although always identified with the founding of Secularism, his conceptions were too broad for the main body of freethinkers parading under the name of secularists—in reality atheists—led by Bradlaugh. After the formation of the National Secular Society, of which Bradlaugh was President for years, Holyoake silently withdrew to the background, thus leaving a clear field for Bradlaugh and his immediate followers, whose opinions and methods shocked and repelled Holyoake's gentle and tolerant mind, as they had succeeded in doing in the case of a large body of sceptics, another instance of an extreme section stultifying and paralysing a general movement, by driving out of its ranks the thought and moderation which would have leavened the whole, and brought nearer the time, when universal intellectual liberty was an accomplished fact. Freethought institutions started here and there, but after a few months of fitful life subsided into insignificance, or were destroyed by internal contentions. It was not until about 1870 that an effort was made to unite the forces, and to put an end to the misunderstanding between

Holyoake and Bradlaugh. In March of that year Holyoake unwisely allowed himself to enter into a two nights' debate with Bradlaugh in the Old Street Hall of Science, and it was agreed that on the first night Holyoake should open the discussion, maintaining that "The principles of secularism do not include atheism," and therefore a man of any faith could be a secularist, while Bradlaugh urged that a man could not be a good secularist unless he were a decided atheist. It was also agreed that on the second night Bradlaugh should be the first speaker, and maintain that "Secularism includes scepticism." The two men were as opposed as the poles in the fundamentals of their faith, and at the end of the debate, it was discovered that the two expounders were less in agreement than ever. The debate was afterwards published as "Secularism, scepticism and atheism," to which both disputants contributed a preface.

Within a month after the discussion he wrote his "Misconceptions as to secular instruction," which seems to have been the first separate work on that subject he had issued for nearly ten years, and in this, his main object was to represent Secularism in the manner he had consistently explained and advocated it for twenty years, as being quite distinct in principle from atheism. The term secular, he said, in no way denied or questioned spiritual education. Secular knowledge was not opposed to religious knowledge; it was merely distinct from it. All that the advocates of secular instruction asked, was, that the Education given at the cost of the State should relate to the duties exacted by the State, and these duties were, that a man should maintain his family, pay taxes, give no trouble to the police, make no demands upon the parish, and fight whomsoever the government thought fit to involve us in war with. It was in the interests of public economy that secular instruction should be compulsory, and religious education optional. The State he held was bound to expend the people's money in teaching productive knowledge, and the only knowledge which was

productive was secular, and this would make children clear-minded, grateful, and reverential ; would give religion prestige and force, and the clergy a double influence, because their ministrations would have dignity and definiteness ; the nation would be more intelligent, the brains of the workers would be cleared and trained, and every working father and mother would thank with grateful hearts the State which gave their children the priceless blessing of self-defensive knowledge.

During the years 1868-1870 only four numbers of *The Reasoner* appeared, but it was revived in January, 1871, at the request of several Lancashire and Yorkshire secularists, who guaranteed Mr. Holyoake against any loss which might be incurred in connection with it. The re-issue ran for nineteen months, and finally ceased with the number for July, 1872. For the next three years he published no work of any importance, for he was fully engaged in journalistic work and in the preparation of his "History of co-operation."

When John Stuart Mill died in 1873, there appeared in *The Times* of May 10th, 1873, a biographical sketch from the pen of one who had known him for a great many years, and in the course of this article reference was made to certain advice alleged to have been tendered by Mill in the early days of his career to the working classes. The statement was deeply resented at the time by the friends and admirers of Mill, and in the pages of *The Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, Holyoake paid his tribute of admiration and respect to the memory of the great philosopher. His éloge was subsequently published as a pamphlet and bore the title "John Stuart Mill as some of the working classes knew him." It appears too that Mr. Holyoake wished to make some comment in *The Daily News*, for Mr. Frank Hill wrote him in June, "I have declined many proposals to open the columns of *The Daily News* to the posthumous controversy which has arisen about Mr. Mill, who seems to me not to need defence nor to require eulogy. . . . Surely his reputation can take care of itself. . . . I think the truest respect to Mill is

“ shewn by not condescending to take notice of such attacks as those of Hayward, and by treating him as above the level of ‘ testimonials ’ as well as of libels.”

His vindication of Mill was followed by two works on productive co-operation in relation to the consumer. In “ The Logic of Co-operation,” he contends that after paying a fair return for the use of invested capital, and after providing a fund for educational purposes, wear and tear, etc., not only is the worker or producer entitled to some representation in the conduct of the Society for which he worked, and to a direct share of profits—whether distributive or productive—but that the consumer too has a strong claim to be included in the participation of what remains after full justice has been done to all producing agents. He argues that while the original aim of co-operation was to benefit all, the consumer or customer, under the co-operative system, was really no better off than he was under individualistic production. “ The Policy of commercial Co-operation ” was written a little later as a reply to the opinions expressed in Mr. Ludlow’s paper read at the Newcastle Congress in 1878, that the consumer who does not restore to production what he takes from it, has no claim to a share of profits, and that the producer, and not the consumer, should be the primary object of co-operation. Mr. Holyoake, on the other hand, held that as co-operation is the concert of capitalist, producer and customer, all three had a claim in the division of profits, and after paying capital for its use, and providing for the education of the worker, that the surplus should be divided between the producer and the customer.

He next engaged in a reply to Dr. Brindley’s lecture on “ Human responsibility and retributive justice.” In his reply, entitled “ Secular responsibility,” Holyoake defended Robert Owen and Lord Brougham against the wrong interpretation, Dr. Brindley, for the purpose of his lecture, was pleased to place upon the utterances of the two men referred to. On the question of man’s responsibility for

his belief, conduct, actions and words, Mr. Holyoake holds that the secularist, like Robert Owen, labours to bring about that state of things "in which it shall be impossible for men to be depraved and poor." He teaches "that society is responsible for its own condition" and "hopeless of praise, and reckless of blame, gives all his thought to save mankind."

His earlier narratives of the co-operative movement, may be considered quite minor productions compared to his lucid, exhaustive and dispassionate "History of co-operation in England" which bears evidence of long labour and research. It was commenced in the year 1878, but not published until 1875, and then only the first volume, the second appearing some four years later. In its complete form it is a monument of enduring merit and well calculated to perpetuate the memory of its author. The work supplies facts and expounds principles in a very pleasant manner, with constant touches of graphic description, of quiet, quaint humour, and of good-natured, gentle satire, the whole being written with an easy gracefulness sometimes strictly narrative, sometimes biographical, sometimes sketchy, occasionally introducing touches of autobiography which give a pleasant sparkle and colour to its pages. For years he had been in the thick of the movement as the foremost advocate and worker in the cause. He was personally conversant with the men who made the movement, with the motives of those who promoted it, as well as of those who retarded it, and he has written so much, and spoken more for it, that his good-humoured criticisms on the errors, vagaries, and Utopias of the early co-operators, are most refreshing. His mental grasp of things, which was very keen, at once enabled him to go to the very heart of them without any circumlocution, and while he does not hesitate to lay bare the causes of the failure of many of the early experiments, he writes with great sincerity of conviction, with a broad, human sympathy, and with absolute freedom from malice or rancour.

The amount of work entailed in the publication of the "History," combined with his journalistic work, and the demand upon his time in lecturing for several co-operative and secular societies, may have had much to do with his serious illness and partial blindness in the year 1875. It was felt by many of his friends, that it was an opportune moment to place him in a position above the necessity of engaging in more literary and other work than he felt himself capable of, and a subscription was started which before long reached the handsome sum of £2,254, which, with the exception of £220 for immediate use during his illness, was invested to provide him with an annual income of about £140.

At the end of the year he was so far recovered as to enter into an agreement with another, to jointly edit *The Secularist*, but in little less than a month, Mr. Holyoake found it impossible to continue his undertaking, and severed his connection with that journal on the 10th of February, 1876. Within a few days he drafted a prospectus of a projected paper to be entitled *Daily Life*, in which he hoped to represent the constructive capacity of independent thought, and advocate its application to the improvement of daily life; but the title was changed to *The Secular Review: a journal of daily life*, and on March 18th, he drew up the prospectus, announcing that it would be a journal of this world, without implying disregard or denial of another; indicating that this world is, for its own sake, worthy of study, that human society is a sacred subject of improvement, and that Secularism would be advocated as a form of opinion, always as distinct from atheism, as mathematics from politics, not necessarily attacking religion any more than music attacks chemistry. The journal first appeared on August 6th, 1876, and six months later he transferred it to Mr. Charles Watts, but continued to be a regular contributor to its columns.

In the years 1874-5-6 he had frequently contributed to

The Contemporary Review, then edited by Sir James Knowles, a personal friend, but when in 1876 the management of that journal passed into the hands of a limited company, Knowles established *The Nineteenth Century*, and Mr. A. Strahan became the editor of *The Contemporary Review*. In January, 1877, Mr. Strahan wrote to Mr. Holyoake that as mis-statements had been made in *The Times* regarding *The Contemporary*, he had been "obliged in self-defence to put upon record the facts of the case." "I shall take an opportunity of calling upon you respecting future articles," he wrote, "meantime I may say that I should like very much to be favoured with a paper from you on the 'Philosophy of secularism' in reply to Mr. Mallock's recent article on 'Modern atheism.' I wish *The Contemporary Review* to be in the highest sense an open platform, affording a fair field and no favour. I may mention that the honorarium for your future articles will be calculated at the rate of £16 per sheet of 16 pages." Mr. Holyoake strangely enough does not appear to have accepted the offer, but between the years 1877-1888 he contributed to *The Nineteenth Century* many useful articles.

Early in the year 1879, he published the second volume of his "History of Co-operation," and in that year he paid a visit to the United States to make enquiries for the Guild of Co-operators. Liverpool journalists and others gave him a parting banquet the night before he sailed from the Mersey on the 16th August. He had been interested in American history and public affairs from youth, and having enjoyed the friendship of such men as Horace Greeley, Lloyd Garrison and Theodore Parker, he desired to see the land in which they laboured, to walk "through some of America's marvellous cities and into the not less wondrous space which lies beyond them." His mission was to obtain from headquarters at Washington and Ottawa, complete and trustworthy information as to available fields for emigration, so that a farmer, stock-raiser or mechanic, before exchanging

the New World for the Old, might be able to make an intelligent choice, unbiassed by the interested utterances of land companies or railroad agents. He travelled industriously and intelligently through the States, receiving an enthusiastic welcome wherever he went, making such observations on the way as could be made only by one with a keen eye, seeing with zest for the first time, and in 1881 he published "Among the Americans," an absorbing and irresistible book, in which he gave a manly, honest and effective account of much of what he saw, thought, and heard during his four months' travel "as a stranger." In it he showed that he had a well-trained, liberal mind, a most facile pen, and that he knew how to get the best information out of all the people and places which he came across. His impressions first appeared in a series of chapters in *The Co-operative News*, and in July, 1880, he contributed to *The Nineteenth Century*, an article called "A stranger in America." These impressions of his tour were followed by "The life of Joseph Rayner Stephens," in which Mr. Holyoake showed the affectionate zeal of an old friend and ally in political warfare. Stephens was a great preacher, an honest enthusiast, and one of the most eloquent speakers on the side of Chartism, for which he suffered 18 months' imprisonment in 1839.

In the extension of civil liberties, by such measures as the abolition of compulsory oath-taking, Mr. Holyoake had been indefatigable, and in 1880 he drafted a petition for affirmation, in which he submitted the objections to which the parliamentary oath was open, and prayed for the adoption of affirmation, optional to all members of parliament. As Bradlaugh was the only person at that time, who upon entering the House was likely to be affected by the oath of allegiance, it is clear that the memorial was framed by Holyoake to facilitate Bradlaugh's admission as member for Northampton, freed from the necessity of taking the oath. Early in 1882 he issued "A plea for affirmation in Parliament," in which was included the correspondence which he

had entered into on this question, also a letter from John Stuart Mill on the moral position of a man who takes an oath, in the religious portion of which he has no belief. In order to secure his seat Bradlaugh appeared at the bar of the House of Commons, and pulling a Testament out of his pocket, administered the oath to himself, which was contrary to his professed convictions. To Holyoake this seemed "to be a reflection upon the honour of freethought," and in defence of principle he condemned the conduct of Bradlaugh, and thus again the two men were separated.

Except for a few unimportant pamphlets Holyoake published nothing until May, 1884, when he issued his "Travels in search of a settler's guide book of America and Canada." The book was an account of his second visit to Canada and America in 1882, with the object of officially enquiring into the emigrant facilities of those countries, and to procure authentic information for a settler's guide book. The intellectual toleration and unexpected hospitality extended to him everywhere pleased him very much, but with the memory of his first visit he was not so much surprised at that. His honourable position as the leader of English co-operators, opened to him all that was best worth seeing and knowing on the other side of the Atlantic. His conspicuous tact in the management of men made him not only successful in the main object of his visit, but made that visit full of charm and value to himself, and to his daughter, who had the good fortune to be with him. What he heard and saw he tells with great vividness, with a finished grace, and with no little humour, and his comments on the graver aspects of American life are fertile in suggestion. He holds that Canada does not get the right sort of emigrants. Those with money do not want to work, and those who mean work mostly lack capital. He suggests that England would do herself credit, if she would train her adventurous and migratory children, to acquit themselves well in the new world to which they go, and he pleads for the establishment

in England, of unpretentious, inexpensive colleges for the industrial training of intending emigrants. Towards the expenses of his visit, he received, through Prof. Rogers, a Treasury order for £100.

Shortly before leaving England, he determined to issue a journal devoted to the exposition of secular principles, with a view to propagandism and organization. He undertook to indicate in it, the policy and duties of secular societies, and the distinctive nature of secularism, apart from the vexed questions of theism and atheism, with which the public mind was confounded, and while he was sailing from Quebec down the Gulf of St. Laurence he planned the form the paper should take, and hit upon the title *The Secular Citizen*. The title, however, did not suit, so he changed it to *The Present*, and finally it appeared in June, 1883, as *The Present Day*.

On the retirement of Mr. P. A. Taylor, Mr. Holyoake became Parliamentary candidate for Leicester in 1884, but again he did not go beyond addressing the Liberal Council. There have been numberless suitable candidates, who have been compelled to withdraw from the fight, because it would have crippled them to pay their own election expenses. Doubtless Mr. Holyoake, who had been an active politician for over forty years, doing unobtrusively good work for the Liberal party, felt that this was a just grievance to so many, that in April, 1885, he published in *The Present Day*, and afterwards in separate pamphlet form, "Patriotism by charity," in which he pointed out, that Liberal Associations had for years been choosing as candidates for Parliament, men who were only suitable in the sense that they were rich, while most able and well-known politicians, who had done the grandest possible service for the Liberal party, and who would have honoured any constituency by representing it, were passed over because the weakest point had been the purse. He urged the amendment of the membership qualification clause,

so that every member of a Liberal Association should make a contribution towards a fund which, after a time, would be found sufficient to make it possible for Liberal associations to run the most approved candidate, whether he was able to pay his own election expenses or not, and thus save constituencies the humiliation of supporting a candidate, with whom it was oftentimes in disagreement, but helpless for lack of funds.

After writing two leaflets on Free Trade for the Cobden Club, of which he was elected honorary member in 1884, in consideration of his services rendered in the cause of Free Trade in America, Canada and in the press, he published another useful criticism on his party in 1886, entitled "Deliberate Liberalism," in which he pointed out that while it had been customary for citizens to enter the Lobby of the House of Commons, no sooner was the household franchise passed than the old right ceased, and the people were excluded. Mr. Holyoake urged that on one day at least, the public should have right of access to the Lobby. He next deals with the uselessness of the ballot box in consequence of the modern personal house to house canvass, by which means, a record of how a man will vote is known weeks before the day of election, rendering the secret ballot a farce. Holyoake was for making canvassing illegal. He also showed the weakness of the Liberals in not having established the right of order at public meetings. During the next three years he issued four pamphlets; one dealing with Home Rule, two on Toleration, and one on the co-operative idea. He had spent years in trying to show that co-operation is entirely distinct from communism, and in advocating individual progress by self-help, and in 1888, desirous of reprinting from *The Co-operative News* a series of chapters on "Social ideas a hundred years ago" with considerable additions, he offered his copy to a well-known publishing firm, who, strangely enough, would not undertake its publication because of the dissentient views held by a member of that firm as to

co-operation ! Messrs. Sonnenschein & Co. eventually undertook to bring the work out, and as it was thought the first part of the title "Social Ideas" would lead the public to suppose that the book related to socialism, the title was changed to "Self-help a hundred years ago." It deals with the establishment of friendly societies in village centres, and various other institutions of a like nature. It gives among other interesting items, a description of the first co-operative store—a small village shop—the caretaker of which was in receipt of parish relief, and was therefore content with a shilling a week as wages, in addition to living rent free.

About this time Mr. Thomas Allsop offered two prizes of twenty guineas each for the best essays on the subject, "Assuming the tenets of Christianity to be disproved, what would be the social and moral effects of the discontinuance of its teachings and the abolition of its institutions?" The essay was to be based on the Thirty-nine Articles, one to be written from the orthodox, and one from the sceptical standpoint. Mr. Holyoake was persuaded by his friend Mr. Allsop to compete, but at this time he was engaged in so many activities that he did not enter into it very seriously. A short time afterwards (1890) he published in New York a pamphlet entitled "What would follow on the effacement of Christianity," which not only embodies that part of his essay dealing with militant Christianity, but also slight criticisms on the treatment of the subject by one of the competitors.

Both as a Secularist and as a Radical, Mr. Holyoake had many associations with Mr. Bradlaugh, but while holding some opinions in common, they were diverse in temper and character, and had been on very indifferent terms for nearly twenty years prior to 1882, in which year the two men were brought together by Mr. Councillor Gimson, on the occasion of the opening of the Leicester Secular Hall, and, henceforth hostilities between the two ceased. If Holyoake had not forgotten the past treatment to which he had been

subjected at the hands of Bradlaugh, he had certainly forgiven it, for immediately after his rival in the leadership of the secular movement was no more, he published a most delightful appreciation of the man under the title "Life and career of Charles Bradlaugh, M.P.," which was printed and published in New York by Mr. H. L. Green. His next book was one published by Methuen & Co. in 1891, entitled "The Co-operative Movement to-day," written in bright, crisp style, giving a succinct history of the movement up-to-date, while the co-partnership of labour, and the right of the workman to have a share of the profits he has created, is urged with clearness and precision, with confidence that it is the only solution of many of the difficulties besetting the labouring classes. He will have nothing to do with collectivism or state socialism, which he holds are antagonistic to co-operation; whereas he sees in co-operation the sole path of independence of labour, and holds participation as one of its cardinal principles. He also blames co-operators when they deserve blame. He says, "there are co-operators who, when they see a possible dividend before them, dart after it without regard to equity, never enquiring to whom it belongs."

Having played an active part in public affairs for half a century or more, it was but natural that he should comply with the wishes of his friends, to put on record and preserve for future historians, the eventful story of his life as a pioneer of progress, and to give his recollections and impressions of the causes he had championed, and of the men great and small, good, bad, and indifferent with whom he had mingled. The book is notable for its freedom from bitterness, and for the good humour with which he speaks even of those at whose hands he suffered oppression. Peace with justice appears always to have been his aim. For eleven very active years he devoted himself to reviewing his own labours and those of others who worked with him, and in 1892 he published the "Sixty years of an agitator's life." That the book went through three editions (there being six impressions of the

third), is sufficient proof of the interest of the work and the popularity of the man. In it he gives a dismal picture of artisan life, of the small house workshop, the early and late hours of labourers, the habits and customs of the work people, the payment of wages as late as eleven and twelve o'clock on Saturday nights, and of the relations between employer and employed as they were in England more than half a century ago, over which has come a great change for the better, but he admits that even in those days, intelligence, high principle, and earnestness in the artisan, had their reward. The book is crowded with bright and pleasant pictures of English life and progress, with reminiscences of men of thought, courage and energy, who did battle in the cause of social and political reform. It reveals a character of great force, of sturdy independence, and of real generosity, and is in many respects a valuable contribution to the political, social, intellectual and even revolutionary history of our times, for he had perhaps a wider acquaintance among demagogues and conspirators than belonged to any other man of his time. The instructiveness of the book is even deeper than its interest, for it is about as miscellaneous a collection of facts as could be constructed from any man's memory, often written with quaint simplicity, but always with rugged veracity.

Between the years 1898-1896 he was very indisposed, and was again troubled with his eyes, but he engaged in dictating a treatise which he intended should be a statement of his life's work, telling how secularism arose, how it was propagated, and ultimately won more or less recognition. This work, the last of his secularist writings, he published simultaneously in England and America in 1896, with the title of "The origin and nature of secularism," from which his former controversial style is not altogether absent.

In 1897 the Leeds Industrial Co-operative Store completed its 50th year, and Mr. Holyoake was with great propriety selected as its historian. "I knew co-operation," he says, "when it was born. I stood by its cradle. In every journal,

newspaper and review with which I was connected I defended it in its infancy, when no one thought it would live. For years I was its sole friend and representative in the press," and in 1900 he collaborated with Mr. Amos Scotton in writing "The jubilee history of the Derby Co-operative Provident Society."

Against the pernicious innovation of "business by bribery," Holyoake repeatedly did battle, and was in complete sympathy with John Stephens Storr who, in 1877, was the leader of the agitation against secret commissions. Fearing that dishonesty on the part of persons in positions of special trust, might creep into the co-operative system, he, mainly in the interests of co-operative societies, reprinted articles from *The Co-operative News* entitled "Against clandestine commissions." This pamphlet was published in 1899, and deals with Lord Russell's Bill, promoted in the interest of commercial probity.

He took a leading part in obtaining the repeal of the penny a mile tax on all third class fares, and for 24 years he had been Chairman of the Travelling Tax Abolition Committee, originated by Mr. C. D. Collet, with the object of bringing about the concession of cheaper fares, and more convenient trains for the working people. In the year 1880, on behalf of the Travelling Tax Abolition Committee, Mr. Holyoake had forwarded to Mr. Gladstone a Memorial with reference to the railway passenger duty, and in 1901 he published "A history of the travelling tax." Recognition came to him for his services in the shape of a testimonial in November, 1901, which testified to the wide interest taken in the repeal of a tax, which was injurious to commerce, and hampered freedom of railway administration.

In 1894 Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner published a record of the life of her father Charles Bradlaugh, in which she and her collaborator attack those of a different way of thinking to Mr. Bradlaugh, particularly Mr. Holyoake, who was for the latter part of Bradlaugh's life, on friendly terms with him,

although there were many matters upon which they could not agree. It was very natural that Holyoake should feel aggrieved, when upon reading the "Life" he discovered that many of the false accusations, which had been made against him by Bradlaugh, during the years he conducted *The National Reformer* and *The Investigator*, were repeated in Mrs. Bonner's work, although they had over and over again been refuted during her father's lifetime. This resurrection from the dust of some 20 years, occasioned the writing of "The Warpath of opinion," as much an historical vindication of Mazzini as a defence of his own reputation. When it was printed he was induced by a friend to delay its publication, and it was not actually issued until 1901. "The Warpath" mainly refers to matters Mrs. Bonner herself had introduced into her father's life, yet she, very shortly afterwards becoming possessed of a copy of Mr. Holyoake's pamphlet, renews her attack in "The War-path of opinion: a reply"!

Mr. Holyoake, at the time the only surviving personal friend, disciple and co-worker of Robert Owen, performed a ceremony of interest to social reformers in unveiling a monument over the grave of Owen in the old churchyard of Newtown, on which occasion he delivered an address, reviewing the teaching and influence of the most conspicuous figure among social reformers in the early part of the 19th century, and showing that the essential attribute of Owenism was its determinism in social matters. The oration was most eloquent, replete with lofty ideas, and beautifully expressed. It displayed in every sentence the cheery buoyancy and the mental vigour of prime manhood, and gave no sign of the speaker's 85 years, except in the ripe wisdom and sage counsel with which it abounds. It was published in 1902 with the title "Robert Owen Co-operative Memorial in Newtown."

In 1902 during a crisis in the co-operative world, he was asked to defend the cause of co-operation against the private trader, and he wrote a series of ten papers for *The Co-operative*

News in answer to the arguments advanced in favour of the tradesman. He afterwards published them in a separate volume entitled "Anti-boycott papers." In the work he began with a short history of boycotting in the early sixties, and then pointed out how the trader worked against his own interest, and showed the policy of both the private trader and co-operation.

In *The Daily News* of November and December, 1902, Mr. Holyoake contributed articles in appreciation of the late Rev. Hugh Price Hughes and Dr. Joseph Parker, which excited curiosity in some and suspicion in others. They were afterwards published in separate form bearing the title "Two great preachers; or, appreciation distinct from concurrence." The tribute he paid to the two dead men was so generous, that it was thought by some that it must mean coincidence of opinion with them. Holyoake became the recipient of several communications asking for an expression of his belief. He had written words of unbounded admiration for the Rev. Robert Hall, of the Rev. Thomas Binney, and had even spoken words complimentary of his opponent in discussion—the Rev. Brewin Grant—but although he appreciated the ethical and intellectual greatness of those professors of the Christian faith he showed no secret agreement with their tenets. He was ever for a generous toleration, and had great sympathy and admiration for those who ministered to the religious needs of the submerged poor. Indeed he considered that secularists should not withhold appreciation of the ethical merits of others whatever their religious opinions might be. He held that "the first duty of man is the maintenance of his own convictions, the next is respect for those of his neighbour."

Mr. Price Hughes, when publishing an account of the conversion of an atheist, suppressed the name, from consideration for the feelings of the man's kindred and friends. The editor of a freethinking journal accused the reverend gentleman of having concocted a lie. Thereupon Mr. Hughes

bethought himself of one who, although a sceptic, he said he knew to be a gentleman and a man of honour, and he laid the facts before Mr. Holyoake, who, without hesitation, acknowledged the truth of Mr. Price Hughes' statement.

Later, in his 89th year, Mr. Holyoake published his "Bygones worth remembering," a kind of supplement to his "Sixty years of an agitator's life." It was obvious that round about that record of his life, there centred an abundance of anecdote and reminiscence. These mellow recollections of stirring episodes, and of notable things and people associated with the activities of a long and useful public career, he collected into two volumes, which may be said to complete an autobiography of singular interest. The pages, which are full of instructive sidelights on bygones, telling a great deal that is eminently "worth remembering" about them, are often lit up by a mingled wisdom and humour which reveal the enlightened mind, and the generous heart of a genuine man. This was the last work that he wrote, although just before he died in 1906, he saw through the press, in two imposing volumes, a new and revised edition of his "History of co-operation."

It is quite futile to attempt a full interpretation of the whole of Mr. Holyoake's writings, published at a time when English literature was thankfully experiencing a "golden age," yet with his giant contemporaries, not only did his powers of lucid exposition, his earnestness and sincerity compare very favourably, but there were few, if any of them, who wrote so many separate books or pamphlets on such a variety of subjects. He was always careful about his diction, uniformly lucid, and yet intensely strong and vivacious. His sentences are curt and crisp, which, twisted about as one will, only bear one construction, and that the one he wishes to convey. He avoids all unnecessary elaboration, and is never caught striving after effect by passages of highly wrought rhetoric. Mr. Holyoake is eloquent, but it is the eloquence of intense clearness united to common sense.

His great and deserved reputation as a thinker and controversialist, rests upon this dual virtue of clear thinking and clear writing. His early mathematical studies yielded rare fruit, for he grasped the kernel of the most abstruse problem, and expounded or exposed it, with a persuasive earnestness or a subtle irony, as effective as it was exact.

He was inherently a reasoner, careful, cautious but fearless, never satisfied with any statement which, in his opinion, did not stand on the solid foundations of logic and of fact. His most continuous work was that of editing *The Reasoner* in 80 volumes, a work of which Harriet Martineau wrote in an article vindicating Mr. Holyoake's labours, that "I always read *The Reasoner* with profit and instruction to myself, and count Mr. Holyoake as one of the moral forces of the times." This journal made his pen a power among all circles, and especially among the working and middle classes in Great Britain. His personal qualities were his unfailing honesty, his invincible love of truth, charity, sympathy, unvarying good nature, and judicial fairness towards his fellows, even towards his foes, which made him beloved of his friends. Yet his kindliness did not come to him all at once; the original capital of it of course nature gave, but he diligently improved it by constant self control. When he was a young man he described himself as resentful, wilful and imperious, yet Cobden said that he was the man to say the most unpleasant thing in the least unpleasant way.

He was one of the finest types of English politicians of the last century and naturally a man of his calibre met many English and foreign men and women of distinction in literature, science, and in public life, during the last three generations. He showed an individuality so strongly marked and so attractive that he was the close friend of Francis Place, Robert Owen, Garibaldi, Mazzini, Kossuth, Ledru Rollin,

Orsini, Wendell Phillips, Emerson, Horace Greeley, Bright, Mill, Cobden, Herbert Spencer, "George Eliot"—whom he steadfastly and generously defends—Lewes, Gladstone, Joseph Cowen, Professor Newman—brother and practical antithesis in theological opinions to the more famous Cardinal—and Harriet Martineau, who sought his society and his advice, and listened with pleasure and interest to his various schemes for reforming the governments of the universe and propagating "freedom of opinion and industrial justice."

By all fair means of enlightenment on the platform or through the press, he helped on the victory of freedom over privilege, and of association over ruthless competition. He was one of the ablest, most uncompromising, least personally offensive, and most sincere of secularist lecturers and writers, and notwithstanding the unpopularity of his opinions on matters theological and political, his sincere enthusiasm for humanity, and his sound wisdom as to the means of removing social ills and burdens, secured for him friends among all classes in England. That he was a doughty champion of secularism his debates with the chosen defenders of the generally accepted forms of religious faith, his thousands of lectures, and voluminous writings attest. Almost the whole of his life, he laboured with untiring devotion for the cause of social reform, and to ameliorate the condition of his fellows. His fertile brain never ceased to think of those who toiled, in whose behalf, he always found energy enough to work and to clamour for, or against, any question affecting them; his indomitable spirit was never crushed or curbed in any undertaking he considered a duty. He battled bravely for free speech and religious toleration, he gave his ardent support to the Italian struggles, he took a warm interest in the exiled Hungarian patriots, and in the Republicans who were driven from France on the establishment of the third Empire; and as a pioneer, an advocate and pleader for co-operation he, along with others, helped to bring more comfort and happiness to

the operative classes than is generally believed, and to provide the working man with a better home, better wages, better food, and better opportunities for the education of his children.

As a general writer and journalist his pen has ever proved him to be a faithful, if critical, admirer of our institutions, growth and progress; as a reformer of the old school he had probably only one parallel, and that in Mr. Gladstone himself, but it is as a man that he merits our respect, for

“ Man is his own star, and the soul that can

“ Render an honest and a perfect man,

“ Commands all light, all influence, all fate.”

JOHN FLETCHER.

Pseudonyms, etc. used by

Mr. G. J. Holyoake

" DISQUE "

" ION "

" LANDOR PRAED "

" A LONDON ZULU "

" ONE WHO HAS SEEN THEM BEFORE "

" QUASIMODO "

" A STUDENT IN CO-OPERATION "

" A VOICE FROM THE CROWD "

BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF THE WRITINGS OF
GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE

1841. The advantages and disadvantages of Trades' Unions.
By G. JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. Published by
request, and addressed to the Trades' Unions of
Sheffield. pp. 12, cr. 8vo.

Sheffield: Hardcastle [1841].

The substance of a lecture delivered to members of Trades' Unions
in the Hall of Science, Sheffield, November 28th, 1841. Suggests that
the working classes cannot be prosperous until they get the power to
use the land for their own benefit and that of the whole commonwealth.

Another edition, pp. 12, 12mo.

Sheffield: Hardcastle [1841]. 1d.

1841. Friends of mental liberty! [Signed] G. JACOB
HOLYOAKE. leaflet.

Sheffield: Hardcastle [1841].

An appeal on behalf of Charles Southwell, who was imprisoned on
the 27th November, 1841, for the publication of an article in No. 4 of
The Oracle of Reason, entitled the Jew Book.

1842. A sketch of the life and a few of the beauties of
Pemberton, compiled and selected chiefly with a view
of developing the causes which generated the talent
and moral greatness of this extraordinary man. By
G. JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 24, cr. 8vo.

Leeds: J. Hobson [1842]. 8d.

The subject of this sketch, known as "Pel Verjuice the Wanderer,"
was a dramatic lecturer and one of the radical writers of his time. Two
years after the publication of the "Sketch," Mr. Holyoake delivered a
lecture entitled "The value of biography," in which he treats the life of
Pemberton with a higher purpose. In the "Sketch," merely narrative
was displayed, while in "The value of biography" the poetry of character
was aimed at.

1842. The spirit of Bonner in the disciples of Jesus; or, the cruelty and intolerance of Christianity displayed, in the prosecution for blasphemy, of Charles Southwell, Editor of *The Oracle of Reason*: a lecture. By G. JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: Hetherington [1842]. 2d.

The substance of a lecture delivered in the Hall of Science, Sheffield, on the 9th January, and published on 12th February, 1842. It is a defence of Charles Southwell who was imprisoned for blasphemy, an attempt to justify his conduct and doings, and an appeal for pecuniary aid to secure the triumph of his principles. The copy of the pamphlet now before the compiler was presented to the Atheistic Museum, by Miss Roalfe, being one of the books seized by the Procurator Fiscal on the 11th December, 1843, and afterwards returned to her upon her application for it on the 29th March, 1844. The gift is referred to in *The Movement*, No. 28, 1844, p. 224.

Second edition, pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: Hetherington [1842]. 2d.

Published April 2nd, 1842. The only difference between the two editions is a newly displayed title page.

1843. A short and easy method with the saints. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 28, cr. 8vo.

London: Hetherington [1843]. 4d.

The work was written while Mr. Holyoake was in prison, and published on July 8th, 1843. Aims to display Christianity as Christianity displayed itself in the various prosecutions for blasphemy in the years 1842-3, and to decide the truth of Christianity by showing what claims Christians have upon infidel attention, and what claims Christian evidences have upon infidel credence. Leslie's "Short and Easy Method with the Deists," which a clerical magistrate lent to Mr. Holyoake during his imprisonment, doubtless suggested the title of this pamphlet.

1843. Paley refuted in his own words. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 39, cr. 8vo.

London: Hetherington [1843]. 6d., & 1s.

This book was written in 1842 while Mr. Holyoake was in prison, but was not published until 12th August, 1843. It was during his imprisonment that a clerical magistrate, seeking to convert Mr. Holyoake, lent him Paley's "Natural Theology," to which this pamphlet is an answer. The author demonstrates from Paley's premises not the existence of one God only, but the existence of an infinite number, and aims to prove the organisation of Paley's Deity, and the necessity of his having a designer, equally with man, whom Paley insists his Deity designed.

1848. Paley refuted—*continued*.

Second edition, pp. 46, cr. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1847. 6d.

In 1846, Messrs. W. & R. Chambers issued a People's Edition of Paley, and this fact brought from Mr. Holyoake a criticism in the form of a dedication "To William and Robert Chambers." Although the date 1847 appears on the title it was not issued until the 29th January, 1848, and the work was then stereotyped. This edition contains three additional chapters—one a parallel between the watch and the spider, another between Dollond and the Deity, and the third one dealing with opponents. It was reprinted several times between 1848 and 1850.

Third edition, pp. 46, cr. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1850. 6d.

Another edition, pp. 46, cr. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1853. 6d.

This edition bears the title "Paley's Natural Theology refuted."

Sixth edition, pp. viii + 29, cr. 8vo.

London: Frederick Farrah [1866]. 6d.

This revised edition is entitled "Paley refuted in his own words: a reply to his Natural Theology."

Criticisms.

Chew (Sanders J.) Mr. G. J. Holyoake refuted in his own words.
[Harrison (J.)] Holyoake refuted: being a review of his pretended refutation of Paley.

Lamb (H.) The substance of a lecture on the Being of God . . . to which are added answers to Mr. Jacob Holyoake's objections to Dr. Paley's "Natural Theology."

Mackintosh (J.) The logic of atheism, with especial reference to Mr. Holyoake's pretended refutation of Paley.

"Panthea," *pseud.* G. J. Holyoake and modern atheism.

Pottenger (Rev. J.) The consequences of atheism.

Anon. A few plain thoughts in reply to the arguments and statements of Mr. Holyoake in support of an argument that there is no God.

Anon. Atheism defended; being a review of a tract entitled "Holyoake refuted." . . . By a Newcastle atheist.

Anon. Is there sufficient proof of the existence of God? *The Bible Advocate*, May, 1847, p. 106 *et seq.*

1844. *Practical Grammar; or, composition divested of difficulties; with select examples from the writings of elegant authors, containing all that is necessary for ordinary purposes and no more; and intended for the use of those who have little time to study.* By G. JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. iii+72, 12mo.

London: J. Watson, 1844. 1s. 6d.

An analysis of the English language in which the reader is pointed to its capabilities and directed by many valuable rules and suggestions. Treats not only of grammar but of the art of writing and speaking with perspicuity and effect; and also of style by instances both of good and bad writing from modern authors. The whole is enlivened by wit, and interspersed with selected illustrations and judicious anecdote, with the object of imparting a taste for reading. Published 25th May, 1844.

Second edition, pp. iii+72, 12mo.

London: J. Watson, 1844. 1s. 6d.

Published 3rd August, 1844.

Third edition, pp. iii+72, 12mo.

London: J. Watson, 1845. 1s. 6d.

Published January, 1845, and reprinted several times in 1845 and 1846.

Fourth edition, pp. iii+72, cr. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1847. 1s. 6d.

This edition, published in February, 1847, contains the "Handbook of Grammar," consisting of a series of exercises calculated to facilitate the application of grammatical rules to practical purposes.

Fifth edition, pp. iii+72, cr. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1847. 1s. 6d.

This edition is entitled "Practical Grammar, intended for the use of those who have little time for study" and was reprinted on several occasions between 1847 and 1852, in which year a fifth reprint appeared with a fresh title.

Eighth edition, pp. 115, cr. 8vo.

London Book Store, 1870. 1s. 6d.

This particular edition bears the title "Practical Grammar, with graduated exercises."

1844. A visit to Harmony Hall! . . . with emendations and a new and curious vindictory chapter, containing a digest of the suppressed discussions at Branch A1, dedicated to the Socialists of England and Scotland. By G. J. H. [quotation]. pp. 27, post 8vo.

London: Hetherington, 1844. 2d.

The author opens with an amusing account of his journey to Queenwood on 14th October, 1844, and gives his impressions of the Socialist community founded there in that year at a cost of £37,000, largely borrowed. The object of his visit to the Hampshire Colony was to draw attention to the condition of things existing under the new executive, and to awaken the communists from the sleep of the paternal despotism of the previous executive. Mr. Holyoake severely criticises Mr. Robert Owen and his coadjutors for their foolish choice of locality, for their unwarrantable extravagance, and the many irregularities enacted at Harmony Hall. The failure of Queenwood was announced in the following year and the palatial building was afterwards used as an educational establishment. Mr. Holyoake was censured by the London A1 Branch for the publication of this pamphlet, and charged with being the cause of the failure. Published 25th December, 1844.

1845. The value of Biography in the formation of individual character, illustrated by the life and writings of Charles Reece Pemberton. By G. JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1845. 2d. & 1d.

At first delivered as a lecture in 1844, and though mainly based on the "Sketch of the life of Pemberton" published in 1842, it is greatly superior to that work. Here the uses of biography, as a study, are illustrated by the narration of Pemberton's life and writings. It is a species of hero worship, for not only does the author enter into the spirit of Pemberton's heroism and perseverance, and use his character to animate the reader to the attainment of a high, virtuous, moral character, but his desire seems to have been to honour the man, whose genius was, in the opinion of Mr. Holyoake, of the most original and elevated order.

Another edition, pp. 16, 12mo.

London: 1852. 2d.

Another edition, pp. 16, 12mo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1855. 2d.

1845. Rationalism: a treatise for the times. By G. JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 47, fcap. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1845. 6d.

The object of this book appears to have been to put Mr. Robert Owen's philosophy into a new form. Mr. Holyoake argues that rationalism as a system of mental and moral philosophy has no necessary connection with communism or other economical systems; and he avowedly abstained from entering into any description or defence of the political economy of the "New state of Society" propounded by Robert Owen. In his "History of Co-operation," page 517, Mr. Holyoake says: "In 1845 I published a little book entitled "Rationalism," which was then the legal name of Co-operation, the societies then known to the public being enrolled under an Act of Parliament as Associations of Rationalists."

1845. Prospectus of the Atheon. Resident curator—Mr. G. J. Holyoake. Leaflet [1845].

The Institution was intended to serve as the centre of "fraternal intelligence," the Atheistical Society, *The Movement* Office, Anti-Persecution Union, Atheistical Museum, Library and Reading Room.—Reprinted from *The Movement*, No. 55, 1845, pp. 4-5.

1846. The lectures used by the Manchester Unity of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, sanctioned and approved by the Bristol A.M.C., June, 1846. *Anon.* [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 64, 12mo.

London: John G. Hornblower [1846].

1846. The purple lecture used by the Manchester Unity of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, sanctioned and approved by the Bristol A.M.C., June, 1846. *Anon.* [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 16, 12mo.

London: John G. Hornblower [1846].

In 1845 the Directors of the Manchester Unity offered five prizes of £10 each for the best five lectures on the subjects Charity, Truth, Knowledge, Science and Progression, and, adopting the pseudonym "Justitia sufficit," Mr. Holyoake entered into competition with 79 others, and carried the prize for each essay. For more than two years Mr. Holyoake preserved studious silence as to the authorship, being willing that the essays should remain anonymous, but on September 11th, 1848, a member wrote to the *Birmingham Gazette* announcing the authorship, and questioned the wisdom of allowing the lectures to be read to the members when it was known that they were written by a man who was both a secularist and a republican. A member who had previously offered £50 for the copyright of one lecture—Progression—withdrawn his offer so soon as it was known that Mr. Holyoake was the author. The lectures were really written to show that morality apart from theology could be based on human reason and experience.

1846. The lectures used by the Manchester Unity of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. *Anon.* [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 82, 12mo. 1846.

It would appear that some enthusiastic and well-intentioned member of the Order, anxious to justify the choice made by the Directors, issued privately an edition of four of the lectures—Charity, Truth, Knowledge and Science. This attempt to gratify the interest of a few special friends was, to use Mr. Holyoake's own words, "a serious breach of faith."

1846. The handbook of Grammar for the use of teachers and learners. By G. J. HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 59, 12mo.

London : J. Watson, 1846. 6d.

A companion to the "Practical Grammar," published in 1844. Published in five weekly numbers at 2d. each, No. 1 appearing on the 2nd September, 1846. It contains 890 questions deduced from "Practical Grammar" to enable teachers to exercise their pupils; or, if need be, the pupils to exercise themselves. Eight orders of graduated exercises are included, embracing the definitions and a brief epitome of the principles of grammar and composition. Reprinted in 1849, and again in 1850 at 1s.

1847. Mathematics no mystery; or, the beauties and uses of Euclid. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. . . . [quotation]. pp. 121, illus., 12mo.

London : J. Watson [1847]. 2s. 6d.

Originally issued in weekly parts, No. 1 on October 21st, 1846, No. 2 on October 28th, and No. 3 on November 4th, and first published in book form in March, 1847, at the request of the Central Board. The work was prepared some years earlier, but Robert Owen, to whom the MS. was submitted, discouraged its publication. The book was suggested by the wants of the author's own mathematical class held at the Birmingham Mechanics' Institute, and it aims to prescribe the limits of mathematical learning; to review the supposed connection between arithmetic and mathematics; to present a history of the subject; and to exhibit the value of natural geometry, its beauties and uses.

Second edition, pp. 121, illus., 12mo.

London : J. Watson [1847]. 2s. 6d.

The copy before the compiler is a presentation one from Mr. Holyoake "to his friend Henry Allsop Ivory, Nov., 1848."

Third edition, pp. 121, illus., 12mo.

London : J. Watson [1851]. 2s. 6d.

1847. *Propagandism*. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 4, dy. 8vo.

London: *Reasoner* Office, 1847.

Sketch of the *rationale* of propagandism, as an appeal for financial support to carry on the work of *The Reasoner*. Reprinted from *The Reasoner* No. 58, June 2nd, 1847, p. 298 *et seq.*

1848. *A logic of facts; or, plain hints on reasoning*. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. . . . [quotation]. pp. xii+92, 12mo.

London: J. Watson, 1848. 1s. 6d.

Originally issued in seven 2d. parts—the first on February 2nd and the last on March 15th, 1848—and afterwards in two sections at 6d. each. The author attempts to make logic popular by restoring it to the domain of common sense, and to methodise the popular intelligence by rules, within the appreciation of the working classes, for whom the work was principally intended.

Another edition, pp. xii+92, 12mo.

London: J. Watson, 1850. 1s. 6d.

Another edition, pp. xii+92, 12mo.

London: J. Watson, 1853. 1s. 6d.

Another edition.

New York: McElrath & Barker, 1853.

Another edition, pp. xii+92, 12mo.

London: J. Watson, 1854. 1s.

Another edition, entitled “*Logic of facts; or, every-day reasoning*.” 4th thousand. pp. ix+98, cr. 8vo.

London: F. Farrah, 1866. 1s.

Another edition, pp. ix+98, cr. 8vo.

London: F. Farrah, 1868. 1s.

Another edition, entitled “*Reasoning from facts; a method of every day logic*.” pp. xii+98, cr. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co., 1877. 1s. 6d.

Another edition, entitled “*The art of reasoning from facts*.” pp. xii+98, cr. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co., 1877. 1s. 6d.

1848. The polity and resources of freethinking. [Signed]
GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 8, dy. 8vo.

London : *Reasoner* Office, 1848.

Reprinted from No. 100 of *The Reasoner*, and deals with the conduct and financial position of that journal.

1849. The life and character of Richard Carlile. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE . . . [quotation]. pp. 40, fcap. 8vo.

London : J. Watson, 1849. 6d.

Mr. Holyoake commenced the "Life of Carlile" on the 29th October, and after delivering it as a lecture in Fitzroy Square on the 26th November, 1848, he published it on the 18th April, 1849. It is a brief and well-condensed memoir, and tells of the nine years' imprisonment which Carlile endured in the struggle for the political and theological freedom of the press. The book is written with affectionate respect, but with absolute impartiality. This "Life of Carlile" was taken as the subject of a lecture by Mr. Grant, whose opinions were controverted by "A working man" in his book entitled "Strictures on the lecture delivered by the Rev. Brewin Grant . . ." published in 1853.

Another edition, pp. 40, fcap. 8vo.

London : Holyoake & Co., 1858. 6d.

Another edition, pp. 40, fcap. 8vo.

London : Austin & Co., 1870. 6d.

1849. Rudiments of public speaking and debate; or, hints on the application of logic. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. . . [quotation]. pp. vii+90, 12mo.

London : J. Watson, 1849. 1s. 6d.

The work, which is anecdotally illustrated, was first issued in two sixpenny parts on the 9th May, and published in cloth boards on 30th May, 1849. It was shortly afterwards reprinted by Mr. John Bower as his own work. It is a treatise on the art of popular eloquence, and the application of its principles to the development of style and the correction of faults. It expounds the secret of success in debate, and the management of controversy; and suggests that public speaking, debate, and writing to the press are the weapons of self-defence and progress, but its chief merit is, that it combines with the ordinary technical rules for the study of the art of speaking a vast variety of moral and intellectual hints.

Second edition, pp. vii+90, fcap. 8vo.

London : J. Watson, 1852. 1s. 6d.

1849. Public speaking—*continued.*

American edition, from the second London edition. pp. 129,
post 8vo.

New York: McElrath & Barker, 1853.

Fourth edition, pp. vii+90, fcap. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1854. 1s.

Fifth edition, revised throughout. pp. vii+90, fcap. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1854. 1s.

Another edition, with essay on sacred eloquence, by H.
ROGERS; revised by L. D. Barrows. 1861.

Another edition, pp. vii+90, cr. 8vo.

London: F. Farrah, 1866. 1s.

The title of this edition is "Public speaking and debate."

Another edition, pp. vii+90, cr. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co., 1875. 1s.

Another edition, pp. viii+269, cr. 8vo.

London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1895. 3s. 6d.

Another edition, pp. viii+269, cr. 8vo.

London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896. 3s. 6d.

Another edition, pp. 274, cr. 8vo.

London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903. 1s.

Another edition, pp. 274, cr. 8vo.

London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1904. 1s.

Another edition, pp. 274, cr. 8vo.

London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906. 2s.

The last five editions, though rewritten, are founded on the work published fifty years earlier, in which Mr. Holyoake expounds the science of public oratory, illustrated by many apt and amusing anecdotes.

1849. The life and character of Henry Hetherington. . . the oration at Kensal Green Cemetery. By G. J. HOLYOAKE . . . [quotation]. Published for the benefit of the survivors. pp. 16, roy. 8vo.

London : J. Watson, 1849. 2d.

Henry Hetherington, a former editor of *The Poor Man's Guardian*, had suffered for the cause of political and religious liberty, and died in rendering testimony to it. The pamphlet is an abridgment of Thomas Cooper's *Eloge*, delivered at the Literary Institution, John Street, on the 26th August, 1849. Mr. Holyoake, for whom Hetherington showed a strong attachment, conducted the funeral service which took place at the burial, a service which has been described as deeply impressive. The appreciation in which Hetherington was held was clearly evidenced by the thousands who gathered at the grave-side or lined the route.

Another edition, with new title page. [8 leaves not paged]
roy. 8vo.

London : J. Watson, 1849. 2d.

1849. Literary Institutions : their relation to public opinion . . . By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. Dedicated to the City Mechanics' Institution, Gould Square, Crutched Friars. pp. 16, post 8vo.

London : J. Watson, 1849. 2d.

In 1848 the London Literary and Scientific Institution offered a prize for the best essay on "The characteristics and advantages of literary and scientific institutions—their claims to the support of society, and the best means of extending their usefulness." Mr. Holyoake, one of the competitors, sent in the above essay but was not successful.

1850. The logic of death ; or, why should the atheist fear to die? By G. JACOB HOLYOAKE . . . Burnt by the Rev. William Blandy. pp. 15, 12mo.

London : J. Watson, 1850. 1d.

Mainly written in 1848 and 1849 at a time when cholera was raging in London, and first published in *The Reasoner*, No. 193, February 6th, 1850. The author recites the manner in which the atheist reasoned upon death, and attempts to answer the question—should the conscientious atheist fear to die? Contends that virtue is the only preparation for death, and that a good man, whatever his religious opinions, need not fear to die. The Rev. William Blandy of Chesterfield, on the occasion of his delivering a lecture on the 24th February, 1850, in Soresby Chapel, on "The evil of improper books," burnt the issue of *The Reasoner* containing "The logic of death." This action resulted in the treatise being reprinted on the 10th April, 1850, which was designated Blandy's edition, during which year about 20,000 copies had been circulated, and up to the year 1902 over 100,000 copies had been sold. The work has been translated into German under the title "Gedanken uber den Tod," and has been criticised by the Rev. J. W. Brooks, Rev. T. Collisson, B. Harris Cowper, Frank Curson, J. Harrison, Prof. W. Martin, James Quin, S. Williams and many others ; but the best reply is that of the Rev. Dr. Croly, the most eloquent metropolitan preacher of his day.

1850. The logic of death—*continued*.

Another edition, with a new title page. pp. 16, 12mo.

London: J. Watson, 1851. 1d.

Another edition, pp. 16, 12mo.

London: J. Watson, 1852. 1d.

Another edition, pp. 16, 12mo.

London: J. Watson, 1855. 1d.

Another edition, pp. 16, fcap. 8vo.

London: Farrah & Dunbar, 1863. 1d.

Another edition, pp. 16, fcap. 8vo.

London: Farrah & Dunbar, 1868. 1d.

Another edition, revised and enlarged. pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: Austin & Co., 1870. 1d.

Another edition, pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co., 1876. 1d.

One hundredth edition, pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: Henry Cattell & Co., 1882. 1d.

Another edition, pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: Freethought Publishing Co., 1887. 1d.

Another edition, pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: Watts & Co., 1902. 1d.

1850. The history of the last trial by jury for atheism in England: a fragment of autobiography . . . By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. vi+100, fcap. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1850. 1s. 6d.

Mr. Holyoake finished the writing of this book on September 1st, 1850. It is a record of facts relative to his six months' imprisonment in 1842-3 for blasphemy, and a temperate account of the trial and his nine hours' defence. The author aims at an historical vindication of free-thought which he advocated in *The Reasoner*, and an illustration of the intolerance which in 1842 paraded itself as a virtue, compared with the state of feeling which afterwards existed. The work has been translated into German under the title "Der letzte process wegen Atheismus," and has been criticised by the Rev. Brewin Grant and others. "A working man" defends Mr. Holyoake, in his "Strictures on the lectures delivered by the Rev. Brewin Grant."

1850. Last trial by jury—*continued*.

Second edition, pp. vi+100, fcap. 8vo.

London : J. Watson, 1851. 1s.

This edition was reprinted several times.

American edition, 1860.

Third edition, revised, pp. x+100.

London : Holyoake & Co., 1861. 1s. 6d.

Fourth edition, revised, pp. xii+120.

London : Trübner & Co., 1871. 1s. 6d.

Fifth edition, revised, pp. xii+124.

London : Trübner & Co, 1878. 1s. 6d.

1850. Catholicism, the religion of fear ; with eight engravings from the remarkable work of Father Pinamonti of the Society of Jesus, published by Catholic authority. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 32, fcap. 8vo.

London : J. Watson, 1850. 3d.

Mainly a reprint of a series of articles which appeared in *The Reasoner*, vol. 9, Nos. 208-10. With slight additions it was published on December 18th, 1850, between which date and January 15th, 1851, three editions had been issued. It is a contribution to Papal aggression literature, stating the case of Catholicism and Rationalism. Contends that compromise between the two is impossible, and that if the reformation of Luther is carried out, Rationalism must be the result; that as Catholicism is a "widely-ramified conspiracy against popular liberty," so Rationalism, "the offspring of civilization," is the doctrine and the gospel of liberty.

1850. The new work, "On religious ideas," by W. J. Fox, M.P. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. *Reasoner tracts*, No. 1. pp. 4, dy. 8vo.

London : [*Reasoner Office*, 1850].

A favourable review of a book written by Mr. Fox in answer to his detractors, and as the exposition of his creed to those who were curious to know his views.

1850. *The Leader* and its relation to free discussion. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. *Reasoner tracts*, No. 8. pp. 4, dy. 8vo.

London : [*Reasoner Office*, 1850].

A defence of *The Leader* against the criticisms of *The Weekly Tribune*.

1850. Reply to "Infidelity developed," by the Rev. E. Fice, of Ipswich. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. *Reasoner tracts*, No. 12. pp. 4, dy. 8vo.

London: *Reasoner* Office, 1850.

The reply is in the nature of a criticism of the book published under the above title. Mr. Holyoake complains that Mr. Fice does not define the infidelity it professes to deal with, and that his charges are false and not applicable to any system of Freethinking.

1850. The theist silenced. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. leaflet. dy. 8vo.

Privately printed [1850].

A reply to a printed page circulated in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, entitled "The atheist silenced," which represented that Mr. B. Wale had refuted an atheist lecturer at Manchester. Both Mr. Wale's arguments and Mr. Holyoake's reply appeared in *The Reasoner* of 9th October, 1850.

1850. The appeal of the distressed operative tailors to the higher classes and the public. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE and ROBERT LE BLOND. pp. 81, dy. 8vo.

London: Privately printed [1850].

Narrative of the poverty, degradation and hopeless toll of men and women employed by "sweaters" for the tailoring trade, and a statement of the misery and crime engendered by the sweating and middleman system.

1851. The workman and the International Exhibition. By "ION" [*pseud.* of GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 18, fcap. 8vo.

[London: J. Watson, 1851. $\frac{1}{2}$ d].

This pamphlet, which is signed by Ion, was reprinted from *The Leader*, No. 65, June 21st, 1851, for gratuitous circulation among visitors at the great Hyde Park Exhibition. It aims to show the condition of workmen and the misery that existed in the houses and workshops from which came the beautiful objects and wonders of production exhibited there; and at what human cost they were produced is pathetically described by Mr. Holyoake.

1851. On lecturing: its conditions and character. [Signed] G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 2, roy. 8vo.

Privately printed [1851].

Reprinted from *The Reasoner*, No. 249, March 8th, 1851. Deals with the value of lecturing, the time occupied, and the expenses incurred in travelling, as well as with the remuneration.

1851. Lectures and debates: their terms, condition and character. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

Privately printed [1851].

This is a reprint of the above pamphlet with additions; including a letter to Dr. Rutherford on "The conditions of public debates."

1851. Rationalism, the legitimate opponent of Catholicism. [Signed] G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 4, dy. 8vo.

London: [Reasoner Office, 1851]. 1d.

Written at the request of the Political and Social Tract Society, and appeared in *The Reasoner* of January 22nd, 1851. With a few abridgements, it was stereotyped and published separately.

1851. The philosophic type of religion, as developed by Professor Newman, stated, examined and answered. By G. JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 26, fcap. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1851. 3d.

A sympathetic but candid review of Prof. Francis W. Newman's "The soul: her sorrows and her aspirations," reprinted from *The Reasoner* for June and July, 1851. Mr. Holyoake restates Prof. Newman's theistic argument, and with quick perceptiveness seizes upon all the salient points in Mr. Newman's presentation of the rationalistic view of religion; or, a presentation, as Mr. Holyoake puts it, of "the phenomena of religion made moral and philosophic."

1851. The last days of Mrs. Emma Martin, advocate of free-thought. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. . . pp. 8, fcap. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1851. 1d.

This originally appeared in *The Reasoner*, No. 282, then reprinted in *The Leader*, No. 82. In "Finger posts for cross roads" No. 2, there is a reprint of the pamphlet under the title "It's all over; or, the last days of Mrs. Emma Martin . . . to which is appended a criticism by the Rev. Brewin Grant." It was also reprinted in a monthly journal, *The Bible and the people*.

Another edition, pp. 8, fcap. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1852. 1d.

1852. The organisation of freethinkers. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 8, fcap. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1852. 1d.

Defines the aims and objects an organization of freethinkers should have, and the steps to be taken to attain them.

1852. Constitution and objects of secular societies. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 4, dy. 8vo.

[London: J. Watson, 1852]. 1d.

Discussed and agreed to at the first Secular Conference, held at Manchester in October, 1852, and was issued as a supplement to *The Reasoner*, No. 337, November 10th, 1852.

1852. One thousand shillings for European freedom. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 4, dy. 8vo.

London: *Reasoner* Office [1852].

An appeal which Mr. Holyoake made through the columns of *The Reasoner* for shilling subscriptions to a fund for the joint use of Mazzini and Kossuth in furthering their attempt to secure for Italy and Hungary complete freedom from despotic oppression. The actual number of shillings subscribed was 9,000, towards which Mr. Holyoake contributed 89; being the proceeds of the Townley—Holyoake debate which took place a month earlier. Reprinted from *The Reasoner* No. 319, 7th July, 1852.

1852. Why do the clergy avoid discussion, and the philosophers discountenance it? By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 48, fcap. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1852. 6d.

Forms the second volume of *The Cabinet of Reason*. The issue of the book resulted in a six nights' discussion in 1853 between Mr. Holyoake and the Rev. Brewin Grant, who resorted to the meanest insinuations to injure the reputation of Mr. Holyoake. Under six heads, the author states, as a result of his own experiences as a debater, what are, in his opinion, the reasons for avoiding discussion: (a) that religious truth is so obvious as not to need it, (b) through fear of giving the opponent an advantage, (c) through dread of being outraged by it, (d) lack of knowledge to control it, (e) because they fear it, and (f) because they do not understand it as an art. Holds that the clergy depended for defence upon "reticence and upon railing in the sacred enclosures of their pulpits."

1852. The positive side of free inquiry. [Signed] G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 8, dy. 8vo.

London: *The Reasoner* Office [1852].

Reviews the work of *The Reasoner* from the year 1846 to 1852.

1852. Mr. George J. Holyoake's three lectures in Heywood, in answer to Mr. E. Grubb's lectures entitled "Infidelity unmasked." In three parts. pp. 10, 12 and 12, cr. 8vo.

Heywood: A. Whitworth [1852].

The subjects of discussion were:—"Development of the principle of free inquiry," "The moral innocency of rejecting Christianity where conscientiously disbelieved," "Roman Catholicism, the type of the orthodox churches around us, who reproduce its objectionable features while repudiating its name." The first of these lectures was replied to by the Rev. Woodville Woodman in his "Doctrine of a Supreme Being vindicated."

1852. The child's first letter book. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. [6 leaves without pagination]. 12mo.

London: J. Watson, 1852. 1d.

1852. The child's second letter book. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. [8 leaves without pagination]. 12mo.

London: J. Watson, 1852. 2d.

The date on cover is 1853, and that on title-page 1852.

1858. The child's first reading book. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 82, 12mo.

London: J. Watson, 1858. 4d.

1854. The child's first word book. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 20, 12mo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1854. 8d.

The four preceding booklets were intended for the cultivation of the feelings and the training of the observing faculties. They attempt to teach a child the rudiments of reading and writing, and the plates are calculated to lead a child in the easiest manner and by the most gentle steps from a knowledge of the alphabet to a knowledge of words. In writing, the child is first taught to make a straight line and a circle, and then, by a combination of these, to write the alphabet. The language is most simple and the words taught belong to familiar objects of indoor life and of outdoor nature. The books were really the outcome of Mr. Holyoake's Sheffield experience, and were issued in a new form *et cetera* 1864 under the title of "The child's ladder of knowledge."

1858. Organisation: not of arms—but ideas. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. viii + 26, cr. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1853. 6d.

Forms the third volume of *The Cabinet of Reason*. Without disparaging the organisation of arms, the author shows that the organisation of ideas in the middle 19th century, was as important to the people then as that of arms was to our feudal ancestors. The author holds that ideas are our material of war, with which, in this country, we can effectually fight the battle of progress. It is a criticism of chartism, and violent action, and aims to show the moral duty of organisation or methodical co-operation for good and useful purposes. It also gives hints for private self-discipline.

1858. The Government and the working man's press. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 12, cr. 8vo.

Free Press Union, 1853. 1d.

A reprint from *The Leader* of two letters to the Rt. Hon. Thomas Milner Gibson, M.P., President of the Association for promoting the Repeal of Taxes on Knowledge, in which Mr. Holyoake examines the arguments upon which the Government then relied in justification of the proceedings against the unstamped press.

1858. The India and China tea mart: the history and characteristics of Indian and Chinese teas. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 7, cr. 8vo.

Glasgow: J. & M. Mackenzie [1853].

A little pamphlet written as an advertisement for the firm of Messrs. J. & M. Mackenzie upon the opening of new premises as a tea mart.

1858. Secularism: its sphere and its services. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 2, roy. 8vo.

London: J. Watson [1853].

Reprinted from *The Reasoner*, No. 347, January 19th, 1853, by the Hoxton Secular Society. The leaflet aims to explain what secularism actually means.

1858. Address from the democrats of England to the democrats of the United States. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [and others]. leaflet, 1853.

This address, which is signed by Mr. Holyoake, Mr. Richard Moore, and Mr. J. Coleman Burroughs, is on the subject of negro emancipation and appeals to the American people to extinguish slavery.

1854. [For friends of secular progress only] Circular from Mr. Holyoake. pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

[London : Holyoake & Co.]. 1854.

An appeal for funds to carry on the Fleet Street House as a propagandist institution.

1854. Secularism the affirmative philosophy of the people. By G. J. HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London : Holyoake & Co., 1854. 1d.

Having been asked on several occasions for some brief and general statement of secular views for circulation, the author has brought together some of the best thoughts he had uttered, as well as explanatory passages contained in his various publications, with a view to showing the necessity of independent, self-helping, self-extricating opinions. In the course of the pamphlet, which may be said to be the first dealing with secularism, the author affirms that secularism builds on the foundation of four rights, and claims for it a moral basis. The work resulted in another discussion with the Rev. Brewin Grant. Mr. John A. Langford replied to Mr. Holyoake's views in his pamphlet entitled "Christianity, not secularism," and the Rev. Joseph Barker criticised the work in his "Six chapters on secularism."

Another edition, pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London : Holyoake & Co., 1854. 1d.

This edition bears the title "Secularism, the practical philosophy of the people," and was frequently reprinted.

1854. A secular catechism for children: adapted from the Rev. H. W. Crosskey's "Catechism of religion for the use of young children." By the Editor of *The Reasoner*. pp. 8, fcap. 8vo.

London : Holyoake & Co., 1854. 1d.

Of the thirty-three questions contained in Mr. Crosskey's "Catechism," Mr. Holyoake takes twenty-four, which he varies to suit his system of secular teaching. Mr. Crosskey was attached to the Unitarian body, and not only placed his church at the disposal of Mr. Holyoake for a lecture, but continued to hold him in high esteem, notwithstanding the criticism to which he was subjected.

1854. Controversial characteristics of the Scottish people. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 4, fcap. 8vo. [1854].

After the debate with Brewin Grant in Glasgow during October 1854, Mr. Holyoake was invited by members of the Committee to deliver two lectures in the Merchants' Hall, Glasgow, on the 2nd and 6th of November, 1854, and the above pamphlet contains the remarks he made at the conclusion of his second lecture, in which he draws a comparison between the Church of Scotland and that of England in the methods of controversy, favouring the Scotsman for his tolerance and intellect.

1854. A secular prayer. By G. J. HOLYOAKE, in Inveriel Church, Kirkcaldy, November 14th, 1854. leaflet.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1854. 6d. per doz.

On the occasion of the debate between Mr. Holyoake and Mr. Jamieson in Inveriel Church, it was proposed to commence with prayer. Mr. Holyoake said he had no objection to his opponents praying, but he should expect to be allowed to pray also. The above-mentioned prayer was that given by Mr. Holyoake on the second evening of debate. Reprinted from *The Reasoner*, No. 446.

1854. Freethought directory: a catalogue of works published or supplied by Holyoake & Co. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co. [1854]. 1d.

Intended to serve as an approximate directory of Freethought, informing inquirers where they may obtain the best works likely to interest a freethinker.

1855. Ledru Rollin. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 2, dy. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co. [1855].

A defence of the author of "The decadence of England," reprinted from *The Reasoner*, No. 457, February 25th, 1855. Ledru Rollin was, in 1848, a member of the Provisional Government of France.

1855. Statement from Fleet Street for 1855. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 4, dy. 8vo.

[London: *Reasoner* Office, 1855].

An account of the work of propagandism, and of the application of the funds. The objects of Fleet Street House were the securing of equal civil rights for all those excluded from them by conscientious opinion not recognised by the State; the maintenance of a centre of personal communication and the publication of free opinions on social, political and theological questions; to stimulate free search for truth, and to encourage freethought in all sects and classes.

1855. Secularism distinguished from Unitarianism: a reply to six of the Unitarian clergy. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 16, fcap. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1855. 2d.

A review of a series of lectures delivered by Unitarian ministers—the Revs. Herford, Gordon, Solly, Tayler, Marshall, Madge and Clarke, in which the principles of secularism are stated. Mr. Holyoake represents secularism as the system which endeavours to find "calculable causes, that progress may no longer be a capricious aspiration, but a serious scientific pursuit in which the steps shall be definite, measured and reliable."

1856. The history of Fleet Street House: a report of sixteen years. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 20, roy. 8vo.

London: Promoters of Freethought, 1856. 6d.

The report covers the period 1840-56, and gives a summary of the business and propagandist property of the house, with the object of showing those who might wish to make loans to it, the amount of security in the hands of the Director.

1856. Letter to the Rev. J. Gibson, M.A., of the Free Kirk Presbytery in reply to his "Principles of Bible Temperance," to which is appended the entire controversy with *The Reasoner*.

London: Holyoake & Co. [1856]. 5d.

Reprinted from the Appendix to "The Works of Dr. Lees," vol. 8.

1856. The rich man's six, and the poor man's one day: a letter to Lord Palmerston. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.] pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

London: [Holyoake & Co., 1856]. 1d.

An appeal for freedom for the working man to have music on Sunday, and for the Sunday opening of the Crystal Palace, museums, National Gallery, Botanical Gardens, etc. Reprinted from *The Reasoner*, which according to the pamphlet is No. 529, while the issue in which it appeared is incorrectly numbered 527, when it should have been No. 528, July 6th, 1856.

1856. The secular preacher; with a portrait of the Rev. Thomas Binney. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 6, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co. [1856]. 1d.

This pamphlet forms part 4 of *Secular Miscellany*. It is a criticism of a book entitled "Is it possible to make the best of both worlds," and aims to make its author—the Rev. Thomas Binney—a witness in favour of secularist opinions, and to show that he combines with the orthodox doctrines of Christianity a clear view and acknowledgment of the tenets of philosophic rationalism propounded by the secularists. The pamphlet originally appeared in *The Reasoner*, No. 471, June 3rd, 1856, *et seq.*

Another edition, pp. 6, cr. 8vo.

London: F. Farrah, 1866. 1d.

1857. The case of Thomas Pooley, the Cornish well-sinker, sentenced to a year and nine months' imprisonment for writing on a clergyman's field gate (a report made at the instance of the secularists). By G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 82, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co. [1857]. 3d.

There is a woodcut of a five-barred gate, bearing the inscription "Jesus Christ. T. Pooley," and underneath is printed "The wretched gate of the Rev. Paul Bush," which it was said Pooley wrote in chalk. Pooley was charged at the Bodmin assizes with composing, writing and publishing a scandalous, blasphemous and profane libel on the Holy Scriptures, and sentenced to imprisonment. Mr. Holyoake was requested by the London secularists to investigate the case, and he published his report in *The Reasoner*. This report, together with the pamphlet, drew much attention to the injustice, and Pooley was pardoned at the end of five months, most of which time was spent in the county lunatic asylum. The case was the subject of an article in *Fraser's Magazine* by Thomas Henry Buckle, to which Mr. J. D. Coleridge (afterwards Lord Chief Justice Coleridge), the prosecuting counsel, replied. The pamphlet first appeared in *The Reasoner* of the 23rd and 30th September, 1857.

1857. To the electors of the Tower Hamlets. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. leaflet, 8vo, 1857.

A letter addressed to the electors in reply to the requisition presented to him, requesting him to become a candidate to represent the Tower Hamlets in Parliament.

1857. An afternoon with Mr. Urquhart. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. leaflet. 4to, 1857.

Reprint of a letter addressed to the *Manchester Guardian* criticising a lecture delivered by Mr. Urquhart.

1858. British Secular Institute of Communication and Propagandism: report of the Fleet Street House, part ii., for 1857. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 8, dy. 8vo.

London: Privately printed [1858]. 6d.

Accounts for the moneys received for propagandist purposes, and the aggregate disbursements on this account from 1854 to 1858.

1858. The trial of theism. By G. J. HOLYOAKE, Editor of *The Reasoner*. pp. viii+176, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co. [1858]. 2s. 6d.

Originally published in 22 penny fortnightly parts of 8 pages, the first being issued on June 14th, 1857. It was also issued in four sixpence half-penny sections, two of them appearing in 1857 and two in 1858. The work contains an examination of at least ten schools of theistical thought with which Mr. Holyoake was brought into controversial contact. It does not profess to deal with the intrinsic truth of Theism, but with those aspects or interpretations which stood in the way of secular truth. It may be considered a history of a fifteen years' discussion and propagandism, giving in a revised form, the chief articles on theological subjects which he had written during that period.

Another edition, pp. xvi+256, cr. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co. [1877]. 4s.

This revised edition is entitled "The trial of theism, accused of obstructing secular life."

1858. Self help by the people: history of co-operation in Rochdale. Part I. 1844-1857. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 72, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1858. 1s.

It was intended to publish this work in the first place through the columns of the *Daily News* in 1857; but after the first chapter had appeared, the breaking out of the Indian Mutiny necessitated the abandonment of its publication in that journal, and it appeared in book form. Describes the difficulties that had to be surmounted in the attempt at co-operation in Rochdale, and the way in which they were overcome, the causes of success, and also the many failures which had occurred. The aim of the book is to show what working men can accomplish when united. The author considers co-operation amongst workmen, as the best and most practical substitute, under the then circumstances, for strikes. If followed out, the author implies that it would render the working classes, to a certain extent, independent of their employers.

Second edition, pp. 72, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co. [1859]. 1s.

Third edition, pp. 72, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1860. 1s.

1858. Self help—*continued*.*Abridged edition*, pp. 20, cr. 8vo.

Paisley : James Cook, 1860.

This edition was issued without the knowledge of the author, and after it was published a copy was sent to Mr. Holyoake, asking permission to sell it without his name on the title. Strange as it may seem, Mr. Holyoake consented to allow it to be sold as an anonymous book. The work had frequently been published and sold without the author's authority.

Fourth edition, pp. 72, cr. 8vo.

London : Holyoake & Co., 1860. 1s.

Fifth edition, pp. 72, cr. 8vo.

London : Holyoake & Co. [1862]. 1s.

Sixth edition, pp. vi+66, cr. 8vo.

London Book Store, 1867. 9d.

Seventh edition, pp. vi+66, cr. 8vo.

London : Trübner & Co., 1872. 1s.

Eighth edition, pp. vi+66, cr. 8vo.

London : Trübner & Co. [1878]. 1s.

Part II. 1857-1877. pp.viii+92, cr. 8vo.

London : Trübner & Co., 1878. 1s.

Thirty-three years of co-operation in Rochdale. In two parts. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. viii+66 and viii+92, cr. 8vo.

London : Trübner & Co., 1878-82.

Part I. is the ninth edition, 1882, and part II. is first edition, dated 1878.

History of the Rochdale pioneers. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. 1844-1892. *Social Science series*. pp. xvi+191, cr. 8vo.

London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1898. 2s. 6d.

This forms the tenth edition of part 1, and includes part 2 revised and enlarged, with illustrations. It has been reprinted three times; the last issue is dated 1907.

1858. Self help—*continued*.*Translations :*

Viganò (F., *transl.*) Histoire des Équitables Pionniers de Rochdale. [Par G. J. Holyoake.]

Paris : Guillaumin, 1861.

Godin (Mme., *transl.*) Histoire des Équitables Pionniers. [Par G. J. Holyoake.]

Paris, [1862].

Cambier (O., *transl.*) Histoire de la co-opération à Rochdale. Par G. J. Holyoake. pp. 288, cr. 8vo.

Verviers : E. Gillon, 1868.

Moret (Marie, *transl.*) Histoire des Équitables Pionniers de Rochdale de George-Jacob Holyoake. pp. 111, cr. 8vo.

Saint-Quentin : Société anonyme du Glaneur, 1861.

Hautschke (H., *transl.*) Geschichte der redlichen Pionere von Rochdale. Von George Jacob Holyoake. pp. viii+278, dy. 8vo.

Berlin : Julius Klinkhardt, 1868.

Pontì (E., *transl.*) Storia dei P. Pionieri di Rochdale. [Per G. J. Holyoake.]

Milano : Tip degli operai, 1862.

Bernát-István (Dr., *transl.*) Segits magadon, az Isten is megsegil. [By G. J. Holyoake.]

Budapest, 1891.

In *Le Progrès de Lyons* also appeared a French translation of "Self help by the people," enriched by notes, by A. Talandier, of the Military College, Sandhurst, and an edition of the book was published in Spanish by Signor Garrido.

1859. The workman and the suffrage: letters to the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, M.P., and the *Daily News*. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE . . . [quotation]. pp. 16, roy. 8vo.

London : Holyoake & Co. [1859]. 6d.

People's edition, pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London : Holyoake & Co. [1859]. 2d.

This brochure suggests that the then contingent Reform Bill should be based on a rating suffrage or moderate rental, but providing for the admission of all to the franchise who may possess or acquire a certain intelligence qualification. This amounts to an educational test. Mr. Holyoake contends that universal suffrage, if adopted frankly by the governing classes, would work well in this country, where reverence for law, rank, and wealth is the religion of the streets.

1859. Life and last days of Robert Owen, of New Lanark.

By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 28, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1859. 4d.

Published on February 22nd, 1859. It is a tribute of praise and admiration to the memory of Robert Owen, partly reprinted from *The Reasoner*. Contains the author's oration on the death of Robert Owen, delivered in the Public Hall, Rochdale, and also a bibliography of Owen's writings.

Second edition, pp. 28, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1859. 4d.

Third edition, pp. 28, cr. 8vo.

London: F. Farrah, 1866. 4d.

Centenary edition, pp. 28, cr. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co., 1871. 4d.

1859. The skin, baths, bathing and soap. By FRANCIS PEARS. pp. vii+101, cr. 8vo.

London: The author, 1859.

This book, although bearing on the title the name of Francis Pears was really written by Mr. Holyoake. It was finished on May 15th, 1858, and Mr. Holyoake received £29 10s. for it.

1859. The principles of secularism briefly explained. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 40, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1859. 6d.

Believing in the possibility of a neutral faith, Mr. Holyoake here endeavours to define and consolidate his position. Holds that a secularist concerns himself with present time and material existence, neither ignoring nor denying the future and spiritual, which are independent questions. This work was originally published in five penny parts under the titles, (a) Definitions of terms, (b) Secular aphorisms, (c) Definitions of principles, (d) Secular organisation indicated, (e) Characteristics of secular principles. The pamphlet is severely criticised by J. H. Gordon in his "Helps to belief," No. 4.

Second edition, pp. 40, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1860. 6d.

1859. Principles of secularism—*continued*.*Third edition*, pp. 48, cr. 8vo.

London: Austin & Co., 1870. 6d.

The title of this edition is changed to "The principles of secularism illustrated." This was also reprinted by Messrs. Trübner & Co. in 1870.

Third edition, revised, pp. 50, cr. 8vo.

London Book Store, 1871. 6d.

Fourth edition, revised, pp. 48, cr. 8vo.

London: Watts & Co., 1881. 6d.

1859. Secular Institute Report, 1858-9. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 4, dy. 8vo.

London: [Reasoner Office, 1859.]

A statement of the work of propagandism during the year 1858-9 and an appeal for further support, which Mr. Holyoake pointed out was not a charity but a claim.

1859. The social means of promoting temperance, with remarks on errors in its advocacy. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 31, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co. [1859]. 4d.

Published on the 12th December, 1859. The author endeavours to point out the defective basis of teetotalism. Holds that, by a Maine law, we may conform conduct to a standard, but by social means we may control the conscience. Urges a more liberal advocacy of temperance, and better material conditions for its cultivation.

1860. The uselessness of prayer. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 2, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co. [1860].

Reprinted from "The Trial of Theism" as No. 5 of the Two-page secular tracts.

1860. The impossibility of proving the existence of God by the design argument. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. [Two-page secular tracts, No. 8]. pp. 2, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1860.

Issued as No. 2 of *The Reasoner Gazette*, 1860.

1860. *Secularism and the place it occupies.* By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. [Two-page secular tracts, No. 2]. pp. 2, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1860.

1861. *The logic of life, deduced from the principle of free-thought.* By G. J. HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: Newsagents' Publishing Co. [1861]. 2d.

Explains what the secular policy of life is, and in what respects secular principles are independent of Christianity, and are self-guiding and self-sustaining. Aims to show that the principles of morality are established, sufficient for human guidance, for which men are not indebted to Christianity. The work was criticised by Mr. J. Clark, in his pamphlet entitled "Mr. Holyoake's 'Logic of Life' inconsistent and dangerous."

Another edition, pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1862. 2d.

Another edition, pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: Austin & Co., 1870. 1d.

Another edition, pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co., 1876. 1d.

1861. *Dr. Brindley and the vote of censure.* [Signed] "Ion." leaflet, folio. 1861.

An exposure of the persecuting spirit which Dr. Brindley had worked up in the minds of the employers of labour at Huddersfield, in advising them to dismiss all socialists from their employment. Reprinted from the *Huddersfield Examiner*, April 8rd, 1861.

1861. *To the subscribers of the Brindley testimonial fund.* [Signed] "A voice from the crowd" [*i.e.* GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. leaflet, folio. 1861.

A protest against a testimonial being made to Dr. Brindley for alleged meritorious services in Huddersfield, by reason of his advice to employers of labour to dismiss all socialists employed by them.

1861. Thomas Cooper delineated as convert and controversialist: a companion to his missionary wanderings. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 20, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co. [1861]. 3d.

This pamphlet, which was published on March 8rd, 1861, arose out of lectures delivered in Derby by Mr. Cooper, author of "The Purgatory of Suicides," to which no reply was permitted in that town, Mr. Holyoake being refused the use of every suitable hall. The author severely criticises Cooper's controversial characteristics, and reproduces all the most striking extracts from his sceptical writings for the use of those whose views were attacked by Mr. Cooper. Recalls his several changes in religious thought from Wesleyan preacher to sceptic. Reprinted from *The Reasoner*, July 8th to August 12th, 1860.

1861. What may England yet do for Italy? From *The Counsellor* for October, 1861. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 8, roy. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co. [1861].

An appeal for an expression of British sympathy towards the Italians in their struggle for independence, and for funds towards aiding in the emancipation of those parts of Italy subject to priestly misrule and oppression.

1861. The outlaws of freethought: the policy which may secure an Affirmation Bill. By G. J. HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co. [1861]. 1d.

Contents that all persons who conscientiously object to taking the oath, should be allowed to make a solemn affirmation in cases where the oath was ordinarily administered, and appeals for the same respect being shown to the sceptic or secularist as is enjoyed by the Jew, and others, who refuse to take the oath. To this pamphlet was largely due the passing of the "Evidence Amendment Bill" in August, 1869.

1861. In the matter of the Affirmation Bill. [Signed] G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 4, cr. 8vo.

London: [Holyoake & Co.], 1861.

This circular, which was issued in May, 1861, is also contained in "The outlaws of freethought."

1861. The limits of atheism; or, why should sceptics be outlaws? By G. J. HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1861. 2d.

Written to explain that atheism is not the limitless, lawless theory which many persons suppose, and to show what the nature, scope and limits of that form of opinion really are; also that its tendency is to modesty and reverence, and is neither dogmatic nor intolerant.

Another edition, pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: J. A. Brook, 1874.^o 2d.

1861. Public purposes of the Fleet Street House. [Signed] G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 4, 4to.

Privately Printed, 1861.

Speech by Mr. Holyoake acknowledging a gift of £500, presented to him at Anderton's Hotel, May 14th, 1861, and a statement of the circumstances which led to the presentation. The amount was subscribed to meet the loss to Mr. Holyoake in connection with Fleet Street House, and on account of his political and other services in the publication of proscribed opinion, in endeavours to diffuse among the working classes dispassionate principles of advocacy, and on account of legal risks incurred in aiding some questions of public liberty.

1861. Defeat of the Rev. Sydney Gedge, of Northampton, in the Queen's Bench. [Signed] G. J. H. pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

London: John Bates [1861]. 1d.

A report of the trial of Mr. John Bates, a Northampton bookseller, on the charge of having libelled the Rev. Sydney Gedge by exhibiting a copy of a letter satirising the proceedings of the reverend gentleman in forcing the collection of Church rates. Lord Chief Justice Cockburn found for the defendant.

1862. Affirmation and appeal case fund. [Signed] G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 2, cr. 8vo.

London: [Holyoake & Co.], 1862.

The purpose of the fund was to promote agitation in favour of a bill for a simple or secular affirmation.

1862. Freethought lectureships in connection with *The Secular World*. [Signed] G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 4, cr. 8vo.

London : Holyoake & Co. [1862].

A proposal written on April 18th, 1862, to raise a fund for establishing *The Secular World* upon a profit-sharing principle, and for the diffusion of secular principles by means of lectures.

1862. Moral errors which endanger the permanence of co-operative societies . . . By G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 15, cr. 8vo.
Bury Co-operative Society, 1862. 1d.

A paper on the moral causes which frustrate co-operative success, read before the Political Economy section of the Social Science Congress, in Guildhall, London, 1862. The original title of the paper was "The moral mistakes of co-operators." It has been reprinted several times.

Another edition, pp. 15, cr. 8vo.

Huddersfield : Henry Fielding, 1863. 1d.

1862. Joseph Barker, and his expulsion from the secular body. Dr. Perfitt, and the unbounded virtue party. By "Quasimodo" [*i.e.* GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

London : Austin Holyoake [1862]. 1d.

A defence of Freethought against the charges made by Joseph Barker, whom the author severely criticises. Reprinted from *The National Reformer*.

1863. Mr. Holyoake's disconnection with the *National Reformer*, and the correspondence which accounts for it. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

London : Holyoake & Co. [1863].

This pamphlet refers to the argument between Mr. Holyoake and Mr. Bradlaugh, relative to the conduct of the *National Reformer*, and Mr. Bradlaugh's termination of the agreement with Mr. Holyoake that he should have absolute control of three pages, and have a voice in the rejection of articles likely to bring discredit into the secular ranks.

1863. Cumming wrong; Colenso right: a reply to the Rev. Dr. Cumming's "Moses right, Colenso wrong." By "A London Zulu" [pseud. of GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]]. pp. 60, cr. 8vo.

London: F. Farrar [1863]. 6d.

Originally issued in four twopenny numbers, on February 7th, 18th, March 4th and 19th. Purports to be written as a plea for the Zulus abroad and at home, by one with a leniency towards them. Mr. Holyoake shows a readiness to welcome the diffusion of religion, if it be purged from corruption. Suggests the form of religion which alone can be received by those whom Christians desire to convert, namely, that which recognises the natural powers of man, and insists on morality as its essence, rather than on creeds and articles. It is a refutation of Dr. Cumming's attack on Bishop Colenso's "Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua," and discusses the general tenor not only of Colenso's writings but of his life. Examines the characteristics of the heathen with whom he had to deal, and states the objections to the Christian dogmas which intelligent Kaffirs made, and the way in which the Bishop met them.

1863. A "Working man's" objections to co-operative societies answered. By "One who has seen them before." [GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 14, cr. 8vo.

Huddersfield: H. Fielding, 1863.

A reply to "Four letters on co-operative societies: their aims and failures." Mrs. Holyoake-Marsh possesses a copy of this pamphlet signed by her father, clearly showing that he was the author.

1863. History of the rise and progress of Middlesbrough; reprinted, revised and enlarged from the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*. By "LANDOR PRAED" [pseud. of GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. [quotation]. pp. 28, dy. 8vo.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne; *Chronicle* Office, 1863. 6d.

1863. Civil equality: the parliamentary progress of the Affirmation Bill. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 8, fcap. 8vo. [1863].

"A bill to allow affirmations or declarations to be made instead of oaths, in certain cases in Great Britain and Ireland" was first prepared and brought into Parliament by Sir John Trelawny and Mr. Lewis L. Dillwyn, February 25th, 1861.

1868. *Tracts for the thoughtful.* [Signed] G. J. HOLYOAKE.
pp. 2, cr. 8vo.

London : *Secular World Office*, 1868.

Deals with the issue of a series of sixpenny pamphlets relating to the religious conditions of the age, issued by a dissenting minister, which Mr. Holyoake considered were calculated to have an influence on the rationalism of theology.

1868. *A suppressed Princess : the authentic, romantic and painful history of an excluded member of the Royal family.* By "LANDOR PRÆD." [Reprinted from the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle.*] pp. 8, 4to.

London : F. Farrah [1868]. 2d.

A statement of the case of Mrs. Ryves, who claimed the rank and title of Princess Lavinia of Cumberland and Duchess of Lancaster. Mrs. Ryves took advantage of the Legitimacy Declaration Act of 1861 to bring her case into court, and she there established her legitimacy. In June, 1866, she petitioned the court to declare that the Duke of Cumberland and Olive Wilmot were lawfully married, and that Olivia Serres (the mother of Mrs. Ryves) was the legitimate offspring of the Royal marriage. Upon these grounds her claim to the rank of Princess of Cumberland was based.

1864. *Imitable features of the Railway Permanent Benefit Building Society, Euston.* By G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 8, dy. 8vo.

London : McCorquodale & Co., 1864.

A paper read at York, September 26th, 1864, in the Social Economy section at the Congress of the National Association for Promoting Social Science.

1864. *Public lessons of the hangman.* By G. J. HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

London : F. Farrah [1864]. 1d.

Reprinted from the *Morning Star*, November 16th, 1864, by several gentlemen in favour of the abolition of capital punishment in the open street. The hangman is shown to be considered by the public, who attend his appearances, as an actor in melodrama, and nothing more. Urges that capital punishment should be abolished; or, that the method of carrying it out be reformed. The pamphlet was written the day after the hanging of Franz Muller, and forms No. 1. of the *Utilitarian pamphlets*. Shortly after the publication of this pamphlet, public executions were abolished by Parliament.

Fifth edition, pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

London : F. Farrah [1864]. 1d.

1864. The suppressed lecture at Cheltenham. By G. J. HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

London : F. Farrah, 1864. 1d.

Reprinted from *The Reasoner*, No. 837. In 1864 Mr. Holyoake was invited by some friends to deliver a lecture upon "The changes in religious opinion in England since 1842," but although three or four suitable places were engaged, Mr. Holyoake was prevented by the police and the Lord of the Manor from delivering it. Mr. Holyoake was then prevailed upon to print this abstract of the suppressed lecture. It was afterwards issued as No. 2 of the *Utilitarian tracts*.

1864. The child's ladder of knowledge. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 64, cr. 8vo.

London : F. Farrah [1864]. 8d.

For particulars of this work refer to "The child's first letter book," &c., 1862.

1864. The perils of co-operation. The hundred master system. By "A student in co-operation." [*i.e.*, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 8, 12mo. [1864.]

Reprinted from the *Morning Star*. The author criticises the class of men calling themselves co-operators, who, as workmen, protest against the unfeeling tyranny of employers, yet, when they are lucky enough to become shareholders in a factory, take care to exclude their workpeople from any share in the profits. Mr. Holyoake contends that it is better to work under one master than under a hundred such.

1865. Excluded evidence on the ground of speculative opinion . . . By G. J. HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London Book Store [1865]. 2d.

A paper read at the Social Science Congress, 1865. The author gives definitions of the oath and states his reason why two classes should be entitled to exemption. In dealing with the classes already exempted from the oath he urges that the law should enforce the oath upon all alike, or relieve those who have a conscientious objection to it.

1865. Partnerships of industry: a statement of the co-operative case divested of sentimentality. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London Book Store [1865]. 2d.

A paper read at the Social Science Congress, 1865. The author urges the profit-sharing principle in all industries, pointing out that the working man, unless he is to enjoy a share in the profits of his employers, becomes careless in his work, extravagant with material, engages in strikes, and endangers the business of his employer.

1865. The Liberal situation: necessity for a qualified franchise. A letter to Joseph Cowen, jun. By G. J. HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 86, cr. 8vo.

London Book Store [1865]. 6d.

Reprinted from the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, and published in pamphlet form on April 17th, 1865. It was intended for circulation among members of political reform unions as a contribution on behalf of the reform agitation. The author holds that no measure of reform could be considered worthy of acceptance unless it afforded a reasonable prospect of effecting a settlement of the question.

1865. Public performances of the dead: a review of American spiritualism . . . By G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 12, cr. 8vo.

London Book Store [1865]. 3d.

Reprinted with additions from the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*. Enumerates the unfortunate points in which the Davenport brothers resemble impostors, and thus invite incredulity by their own acts. It was originally entitled "The new religion of the Tambourines, what it does and what it means." *Utilitarian tracts*, No. 8.

1866. Eclectic catalogue. 1866. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.] pp. 16, dy. 8vo.

London Book Store, 1866. 3d.

The object was to provide a catalogue of books of distinction, as a guide to thinkers, learners, and to the intelligent portion of the working classes desirous of forming small libraries for home use. It was intended to issue the catalogue periodically, but No. 1 was the only one published.

1867. The working classes and the middle classes. [Signed]
 GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. leaflet.

Privately printed [1867].

Text of the petition drawn up by Mr. Holyoake, and presented to the House of Commons by Mr. John Stuart Mill, urging that the enfranchisement of the entire resident and industrious population is desirable.

1867. The history of co-operation in Halifax ; and of some other institutions around it. By G. J. HOLYOAKE . . . [quotation]. pp. 57, cr. 8vo.

London Book Store [1867]. 1s.

The substance of this book was read at the Social Science Congress held in York in 1864. It was afterwards continued down to the year 1866. While engaged in writing the book Mr. Holyoake spent a week at the store, a room being assigned to him for the purpose. Gives the history of the growth of the Halifax Industrial Society, and it may be said to illustrate the vitality of co-operation to withstand the vicissitudes of trade.

1867. The good of going to Paris to see the exhibition : a letter to Willis Chater, weaver, of Mytholmroyd. By "LANDOR PRAED." pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

London Book Store, 1867. 1d.

The letter was written in reply to a question whether the "Thirty shillings' working men's excursion to Paris" was to be trusted. Mr. Holyoake urged the working man to avail himself of the opportunity, and offered excellent advice in the spending of his time there. He draws comparison between the habits of the French and those of the English, not always favourable to the latter.

Another edition, pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

London Book Store, 1867. 1d.

This edition is identical with the above, except that the name G. J. Holyoake appears on the title-page, instead of his assumed name "Landor Praed."

1868. The priesthood of science : their visit to Norwich. [Signed] G. J. H. pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

London Book Store, 1868. 2d.

An account of the British Association meeting at Norwich. Reviews the speeches made by the President, and other speakers at the various sections. Draws a comparison between the Clergy and Scientists, aims to show how the one saves souls, and how the other saves lives by improving human conditions of existence. Reprinted as No. 888 of *The Reasoner*, 1st November, 1868.

1868. Life of the celebrated Lord Brougham. By "LANDOR PRAED." pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: F. Farrah, 1868. 1d.

This pamphlet forms one of the series of "Farrah's penny lives of British Statesmen."

1868. Working class representation: its conditions and consequences. An address to the electors of Birmingham, delivered at the Town Hall, October 16th, 1868. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 16, roy. 8vo.

London Book Store, 1868. 2d.

Holds that working men who desire to be represented by their own class must create a great political fund for electoral purposes, to enable the representatives to maintain a fair position in society, and to cease looking about as they did for a rich Radical. The benefits described as likely to result are: compulsory education, the disestablishment of the Irish Church, reduction of pauperism, and the introduction of the ballot. Reprinted as No. 889 of *The Reasoner*, 1st December, 1868.

People's edition, pp. 16, roy. 8vo.

London Book Store, 1868. 1d.

1868. A new defence of the ballot, in consequence of Mr. Mill's objections to it. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

London Book Store, 1868. 1d. and 3d.

The substance of an address delivered at St. James's Hall in January, 1868. Printed by the Reform League. Several editions were published during the year 1868, some of them may be seen at Bishopsgate Institute (1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 7th and 9th).

1870. To Education Board Electors. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. leaflet, folio. Privately printed.

A circular upon the question of electing School Boards, addressed to the friends of secular instruction.

1870. Misconceptions as to secular instruction. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

London: *The Reasoner* Office, 1870. 2d.

The main object is to represent Secularism as Mr. Holyoake consistently explained and advocated, as distinct in principle from Atheism, distinct in criticism from Infidelity. Reprinted as No. 890 of *The Reasoner*, April, 1870.

1870. Common people: a discourse delivered at the Church of Progress, St. George's Hall, Langham Place. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 8, roy. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co., 1870. 2d.

A plea for that class of unfortunates—from the poorest to the stump orator—too often misunderstood, and frequently suspected and despised, showing that the “common people” are not altogether hopeless. It is really an appeal for more charity and less judgment, and a helping hand in the amelioration of humanity. Reprinted as No. 891 of *The Reasoner*, 2nd May, 1870.

1871. Protection of inebriates. [Signed] G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 2, 4to.

Privately printed, 1871.

Reprint of a letter which Mr. Holyoake contributed to *The Examiner*, No. 3807, in support of Mr. Dairymple's Bill for the detention of “habitual inebriates” in asylums.

1871. *The Social Economist*. leaflet.

London: Proprietors of *The Social Economist* [1871].

Refers to the discontinuance of the journal in favour of the projected *Co-operative News*, and the neglect of the proprietors of the *News* to accept arbitration upon a property upon which £1,000 had been spent before the transfer to them of *The Social Economist*.

1873. John Stuart Mill as some of the working classes knew him. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 29, cr. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co., 1873. 6d.

Reprinted, with additions, from the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*. It is an answer to a letter circulated by Mr. Abraham Hayward, Q.C., who had already published an article in *The Times* on Mr. Mill's death containing unpleasant reflections on his character in earlier years, influencing a number of persons against Mill. Mr. Holyoake protested against the revival of obsolete calumnies on Mr. Mill, and does justice to the memory and character of the subject of his pamphlet.

1873. The logic of co-operation. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co., 1873. 1d. and 2d.

Calls upon co-operators to admit the consumer to participate as a purchaser to some undefined extent in the profits of productive work, and considers that the provision for securing this participation, made by the Hebden Bridge Fustian Manufacturing Society, a very proper one for a working man's association. Published on 18th March, 1873.

1873. The policy of commercial co-operation as respects including the consumer. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. [quotation]. pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co. [1873]. 1d.

Reprinted on the 15th July, 1878, with additions, from the *Co-operative News*. It is a reply to the views expressed by Mr. Ludlow in a paper read at the Newcastle Congress in 1878 on Co-operative Production. Aims to explain the commercial policy which justifies the consumer participating in the division of profits.

1873. Secular responsibility. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 15, cr. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co., 1873. 1d.

A reply to Dr. Brindley's lectures on "Human responsibility and retributive justice," and defends Mr. Robert Owen and Lord Brougham against the unfair criticism of the lecturer, and urges that the secularist does not teach irresponsibility as Dr. Brindley states, but rather that he teaches that society is responsible for its own condition. Published on the 11th March, 1873.

1874. In Memoriam. Austin Holyoake, died April the 10th, 1874. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

Privately printed [1874].

Reprinted from the *National Reformer*, 10th May, 1874. A short account of the career of Austin Holyoake, brother of George Jacob Holyoake. It contains the sick room thoughts of Austin, dictated shortly before his death.

1875. Collected writings [of GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE] 2 vols., cr. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co., 1875. 21s.

These volumes do not represent reprints of Mr. Holyoake's writings, but merely a collection of the thirty-one books and pamphlets then in print. Only some 50 sets were bound up and placed on sale.

1875. Mr. Wendell Phillips. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. leaflet, 4to. [1875].

Refers to the invitation sent to Mr. Phillips to attend the Co-operative Congress in April, 1875.

1875. The history of co-operation in England : its literature and its advocates. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. 2 vols., cr. 8vo.

Vol. 1.—The pioneer period, 1812-1844. pp. xii+419.

London : Trübner & Co., 1875. 6s.

Vol. 2.—The constructive period, 1845-1878. pp. x+491.

London : Trübner & Co., 1879. 8s.

The narrative commences with a melancholy picture of the utter stagnation of a movement which, at first, had been full of vitality and promise. There are given some curious particulars concerning the philanthropists and reformers, who, in the early 19th century, sought by various impracticable schemes to revolutionise society. The reader is then led on to witness the establishment and development of the Rochdale Pioneer store, and the difficulties it had to overcome. The author protests against collectivism and state socialism, which, he holds, are antagonistic to co-operation. Interspersed with pleasant anecdotes of the leaders, many of them long forgotten, there are friendly criticisms and words of counsel to all who aim at the still further development of co-operative and equitable principles in all dealings between man and man. This work was afterwards reprinted by Mr. Pitman in *The Co-operator*, and translated in the *Courier de Lyons*, by Mons. Talandier, and by Sig. Garrido into Spanish.

New edition, 2 vols. cr. 8vo.

London : Trübner & Co., 1885-6. 14s.

1877. Alien features of secularism. [Signed] G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 4, cr. 8vo.

Privately printed [1877].

Criticises the altered tone of *The Secular Review* from what it was formerly, and objects to the attack upon the Bishop of Manchester.

1877. Letter to the subscribers of the fund made during my recent illness. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 4, folio.

Privately printed [1877].

With this letter of thanks to his friends and admirers, Mr. Holyoake prints the statement issued by the Committee inviting subscriptions, the appeal published by the *New York Tribune*, and a list of the names and amounts subscribed.

1878. The provincial mind. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.
A paper read before the Manchester Literary Club,
November 19th, 1877. pp. 6, dy. 8vo.

Manchester: Abel Heywood & Son, 1878.

Reprinted from the Club papers, vol. 4, 1878. Aims to dispel the common impression that the provincial mind is of a lower type than that of the metropolitan, and suggests that London is but the mirror of the provinces where every man of genius who looked into it saw his own face. The moral of the pamphlet is that the provincial mind had fecundity and force by reason of its position in science, in industry and commerce, in politics, in journalism and poetry. It had stoutness of imagination and even gaiety.

1880. Freethinking explained. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.
leaflet.

Reprinted from *The Freethinker* [1880].

1881. Among the Americans, and A stranger in America.
By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 246, cr. 8vo.

Chicago: Belford, Clarke & Co., 1881. 6s.

Originally published in *The Co-operative News*. It is a story of nearly four months' travel in the United States and Canada: the voyage out, pleasant days in New York, interviewing, political affairs, pulpit and political orators, manners and opinions, eminent men in Boston, discoveries, etc. Gives an explanation of co-operation in the New World, emigration, and State socialistic tendencies. The main object of the visit was to induce the Governments at Ottawa and Washington to issue an official guide book for the use of emigrants. Towards the expense of this visit Mr. Holyoake received a Treasury order for £100 through Professor Rogers.

Second edition, pp. ii+79, roy. 8vo.

London: T. H. Roberts & Co., 1881. 1s.

This edition contains an illustration of Mr. Holyoake being interviewed by Frank Leslie, but it does not contain the chapter "A stranger in America," reprinted from the *Nineteenth Century*, which appeared in the former edition.

1881. Life of Joseph Rayner Stephens, preacher and political orator. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. With an introductory chapter by John Stephens Storr [quotation]. pp. 244, cr. 8vo.

London : Williams & Norgate [1881]. 3s.

The subject of this biography was a conservative, a protectionist, a great preacher, one of the most eloquent orators on the Chartist side, and a friend of Mr. Holyoake.

1881. Code of the tenets or governing principles of the Society of Secularists set forth in ten articles. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, and JOSEPH ELLIS, "Philip Dawson."] pp. 40, cr. 8vo.

London : Society of Secularists, 1881.

Deals with the Being of God, self-dependence, knowledge, morality, religion, training of children, responsibility, good and evil, and secular sufficiency.

1882. Secularism a religion which gives heaven no trouble. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. With speech by Mr. Councillor Gimson. pp. 15, cr. 8vo.

London : Watts & Co. [1882]. 2d.

Speech delivered at the opening of the Secular Hall, Leicester, on the 6th of March, 1881. Contends for the exercise of freethought, and states that those who defend it and teach it, show far more piety than they who defame and frustrate it.

1882. Plain words about secularism. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 4, dy. 8vo.

Privately printed [1882].

Aims to show what secularism really means and what it does, that it seeks the improvement of the world by material but moral means, that it teaches self-help by the use of science and morality, founded not upon creeds but upon experience.

1882. A plea for affirmation in Parliament. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 20, dy. 8vo.

London : Henry Cattell & Co., 1882. 2d.

Published on February 2nd, 1882. It is an appeal for the adoption of a form of affirmation, optional to all members of parliament, with whose convictions it may be more consonant than the ecclesiastical oath.

1882. The revenue of the Central Co-operative Board: a paper read by Mr. G. J. HOLYOAKE . . . pp. 4, 12mo.

Central Co-operative Board [1882].

Read at the Congress held at Oxford in 1882. Deals with the question of subscriptions, which, the author urges, should be paid promptly to the Central Board for the continuity, prosperity and extension of the co-operative movement.

1888. Secular prospects in death. The late Councillor Josiah Gimson . . . By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 19, cr. 8vo.

London: The Crown Publishing Co. [1888].

Two addresses delivered by Mr. Holyoake, one at the grave of Councillor Gimson, and another in the Secular Hall with which Mr. Gimson was connected as President of the Secular Society.

1884. Jurisprudence and amendment of the law . . . By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 4, dy. 8vo. [1884.]

A paper read at the Birmingham Congress of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, September, 1884, dealing with the question of prison labour. Holds that our prisons should be made self-supporting, and that prison idleness is not only a waste of taxpayers' money, but demoralises the prisoners.

1884. Continuance of the travelling tax. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 2, dy. 8vo.

London: Travelling Tax Abolition Committee [1884].

A letter addressed to *The Times* of Friday, 1st August, 1884, protesting against the passenger tax imposed upon season ticket holders travelling first or second class.

1884. To the members of the Leicester Liberal Association. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. leaflet, folio.

Leicester: Batty & Co., 1884.

An address to the Liberal Council on the occasion of his defeat as a candidate for Leicester.

1884. Death of Mrs. G. J. Holyoake, 1819-1884. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 4, 4to.

Privately printed [1884].

A sympathetic biographical notice of Mrs. Holyoake who died on the 5th January, 1884. Reprinted from *The Present Day*.

1884. Travels in search of a settler's guide book of America and Canada. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE . . . [quotation]. pp. iv+148, dy. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co., 1884. 2s. 6d.

Account of a second visit to Canada and America in 1882, under Mr. Gladstone's sanction, with the object of inducing the Governments of those countries to issue a guide book which should furnish some unimpeachable and well-arranged information for the use of emigrants. It is really a record, not of the result of his official enquiries, but of his travels and adventures while making those enquiries. Published on the 30th May.

1884. Employee interest in co-operation. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. leaflet [1884].

A leaflet printed for the use of delegates to the London Conference, August 20th, 1884. Urges that co-operation means social equality, and that equality of consideration to each will do much to beget and maintain equality of interest to all.

1884. To the members of the Leicester Liberal Association. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. leaflet. folio. [1884.]

A statement of his views addressed to the members upon being asked to represent Leicester in Parliament.

1885. Patriotism by charity. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE . . . [quotation]. pp. 12, cr. 8vo.

Leicester: Book Store [1885]. 1d.

First published in *The Present Day*. In April, 1885, it was issued as a pamphlet, and within a few days nearly 4,000 copies were sold. Deals with the organization of Liberal associations, and urges upon every member to subscribe according to his means in the cause of liberalism. Points out that to expect wealthy members to pay all the expenses is nothing short of patriotism by charity. Recommends an alteration of the qualification clause which has been adopted by many associations, and suggests that a subscription of a shilling a year might provide a fund for the support of desirable candidates who are unable to pay their own election expenses.

1885. Manual of co-operation; being an epitome of Holyoake's "History of Co-operation" arranged by the Sociologic Society of America; with an introduction by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 78, fcap. 8vo.

New York: John B. Alden, 1885.

Simply a summary of such portions of the work as have relevance to American needs, with an account of the English conception of the co-operative movement up to 1885.

1885. Robbing a thousand Peters to pay one Paul.
[Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 2, dy. 8vo.

London : Cassell & Co. [1885]. 1s. per 100.

Cobden Club Leaflet, No. XXI., showing the fallacy of the protective policy.

1885. Reciprocity explained. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 2, dy. 8vo.

London : Cassell & Co. [1885]. 1s. per 100.

Cobden Club Leaflet, No. XXV., showing what protection, reciprocity or fair trade actually means to the people.

1886. Deliberate liberalism : four instances of it. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London : John Heywood, 1886. 1d.

An address to a Liberal working men's Committee, Brighton. Aims to show that liberalism is not yet self-regulating, and is not only deliberate but dilatory in understanding its own business. The instances given are : suffering the exclusion of the elector from the lobby of the House of Commons, ignorance of the theory of the ballot, permitting the irresponsibility of "independent members," and not ending the lawlessness of public meetings.

1886. The opportunity of Ireland. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 7, cr. 8vo.

London : Nat. Lib. Printing Assoc., 1886. 1d.

National Liberal pamphlets, No. 5. Argues for Home Rule, pointing out that as Union subsisted when Ireland had a Parliament before, so a condition of concord will subsist more securely when Ireland has its home interests in its own keeping, controlled by the wide and free suffrages of its own people.

1886. Hostile and generous toleration (a new theory of toleration). By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 15, dy. 8vo.

London : E. W. Allen [1886]. 2d.

A discourse delivered in South Place Chapel on Sunday, February 28th, 1886, reprinted from *The Present Day*. Touches upon every phase of toleration, and appeals for that which not only asserts a fair play, but takes care that rival opinion is not killed by foul play.

1887. Inaugural address delivered at the Nineteenth Co-operative Congress, held at Carlisle, May 30th and 31st, and June 1st, 1887. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, Esq. pp. 15, cr. 8vo.

Manchester: Central Co-operative Board [1887]. 3s. 6d. per 100.

Mr. Holyoake's address was a vindication of the co-operative movement, and an appreciation of those who had aided it in principle and by financial support.

1887. New ideas of the day. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: Freethought Publishing Co., 1887. 1d.

The subject of a lecture delivered at the Hall of Science, Old Street, London. It first appeared in the *National Reformer*. Shows the advances made during the past two or three centuries in the matter of toleration. Points out that the ideas of the day are improving and broadening, and suggests that secular perception is the greatest of all new ideas.

1888. The growth of co-operation in England. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 22, cr. 8vo.

Manchester: Central Co-operative Board [1888]. 2d.

Reprinted (by permission) from the *Fortnightly Review*, August, 1887. It is an historical outline of the co-operative idea, and deals with the movement in its relation to commerce and industry and the working classes.

1888. Self-help a hundred years ago. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE . . . pp. viii + 214, post 8vo.

London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1888. 2s. 6d.

Published in the *Co-operative News* under the title "Social ideas a hundred years ago, more than are in the mind of any one to-day." It is a record of the social devices which were in action before the beginning of the 19th century. Throws light on the principles of the co-operative movement in a convenient form, and affords a glimpse into the condition of rural England more than a century ago.

Second edition, pp. viii + 214, post 8vo.

London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1889. 1s. 6d.

Third edition, pp. viii + 214, post 8vo.

London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1891. 2s. 6d.

This edition was reprinted again in 1906.

1888. Co-operative dairy farming in Denmark. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 4, dy. 8vo.

London : Cassell & Co. [1888]. 2s. per 100.

Cobden Club leaflet, No. LX. An account of the Danish dairies organised on the co-operative principle, dealing with the question of the produce and its distribution, with a set of rules for management.

1889. To the Committee and actors of the Victoria Dramatic Club . . . who took part in the performance at St. George's Hall on June 1, 1889, on behalf of the G. J. Holyoake annuity fund. pp. 4, cr. 8vo.

London : Co operative Printing Society [1889].

A letter of thanks to the employees of the Civil Service Supply Association of London whose performance in aid of the fund realized £150.

1890. What would follow on the effacement of Christianity. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 15, roy. 8vo.

Buffalo : H. L. Green, 1890. 10 cents.

Deals with militant Christianity, stating what the authorised and accepted doctrines of Christianity really are, what the aspect of society would be if they disappeared, and how Christianity sits on moral endeavour and suffocates it. This essay was written for a competition at the request of his friend Thomas Allsop who offered the prize.

1891. Life and career of Charles Bradlaugh. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 16, roy. 8vo.

Buffalo : H. L. Green, 1891. 15 cents.

Mr. Bradlaugh was announced to speak at the Hall of Science, London, but when the day arrived he was dead. Mr. Holyoake was asked to take his place, and he dealt with the life and character of the departed orator which forms the subject of the above pamphlet. Mr. Holyoake generously and skillfully averted the reader's gaze from Mr. Bradlaugh's faults and sets in high relief the qualities and capacities which rendered him a prominent figure in our social history. It is quite an appreciation.

1891. The co-operative movement to-day. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE . . . pp. iv+189, cr. 8vo. *Social questions of to-day.* London : Methuen & Co., 1891, 2s. 6d.

States the precise position of the co-operative movement, and estimates its prospects for the future, as well as the benefits which its adoption brings to the labourer. Aims to vindicate co-operative equity as a means of concord between labour and wealth.

Another edition. pp. viii+198, cr. 8vo.

London : Methuen & Co., 1891, 2s. 6d.

1892. *Sixty years of an agitator's life.* By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE . . . [quotation]. 2 vols. illus. pp. xii+807 and x+320, roy. 8vo.

London : T. Fisher Unwin, 1892. 21s.

Mr. Holyoake began his autobiography in June, 1881, and he received advance copies of it eleven years later (November, 1892). It includes many strange experiences in social and insurgent movements, with descriptions of past agitators. In describing his career as chartist and secularist, as lecturer and as publisher, Mr. Holyoake has given vivid descriptions of the public doings of those actors on life's stage who have contributed most to the social progress of the 19th century. Incidents in a story of adventure, with recollections and impressions of the causes he has championed, and of the men, great and small, good, bad and indifferent, with whom he has been associated. The title of the book was suggested by his friend Joseph Cowen.

Second edition, 2 vols. pp. xvi+611, roy. 8vo.

London : T. Fisher Unwin, 1893. 21s.

Third edition, 2 vols. pp. xii+807 and x+320, cr. 8vo.

London : T. Fisher Unwin, 1893. 7s.

Another edition (fourth impression), 2 vols. pp. xii+807 and x+320, cr. 8vo.

London : T. Fisher Unwin, 1900. 7s.

Another edition (sixth impression), 2 vols. bound together.

London : T. Fisher Unwin, 1906, 2s. 6d.

1894. Letter from Mr. George Jacob Holyoake to the *Daily News*, April 18th, 1894, on the proposed journal, *Labour Co-partnership*. pp. 2, dy. 8vo.

Privately printed [1894].

An appeal for the support of Associations which have for their object the sharing of profits with labour, and attempts to show that co-partnership is the only way by which labour can be conciliated, strikes rendered needless, and old age pensions self-provided.

1895. Life of Thomas Burt, M.P., Ex-Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade; Secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Union. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE . . . [Portrait of Thomas Burt]. pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London : Walter Scott [1895]. 1d.

Reprint of a pamphlet contributed to a series of biographies compiled by Mr. Henry M. Burt, of Massachusetts, who claims the subject of this biography as an "English cousin." It is a record of a labour member elected entirely by working men, and Mr. Holyoake writes with all the grace that can come from the glowing and friendly pen of a practised and eloquent writer.

1896. The warpath of opinion : strange things seen therein, as shown in the "Life of Bradlaugh" and "Memories of Linton." By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 74, cr. 8vo.

Leicester : Co-operative Printing Society [1896].

This work was written in 1896, but while passing through the press through the influence of a friend of Mr. Holyoake's it was withheld from publication. The book was afterwards issued by the author in 1901, in vindication of Mazzini and himself. There was no publisher's name given, but it was to be obtained privately at 1s. It is a criticism of Mrs. Bonner's Life of Charles Bradlaugh, in which Mr. Holyoake makes statements in reference to Fleet Street House, and Mr. Bradlaugh's connection with the *National Reformer*, and repeats his objection to the publication of "The Bible: what it is." Mr Holyoake further replies to the charges made by W. J. Linton. In a letter Mr. Holyoake wrote to his daughter in 1886, he says :—"Linton's book is very interesting to me, though it is full of things not true . . . He asked me to Miteside to give up my opinions and take his. He never forgave me. His memory fails him. He mistakes me for Southwell who wanted to be a martyr. I never did."

1896. Three articles dealing with the treatment of the musicians by the bandmaster of West Pier, Brighton. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

Brighton : Amalgamated Musicians' Union [1896].

Criticises the action of Mr. Gates, Bandmaster of the West Pier, in discharging the musicians because they had joined the Trade Union, and charges him with sweating the men. Reprinted from *The Labour Leader*.

1896. Dispute with H. S. Gates: musical blacklegs in Brighton. [Signed] G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 2, cr. 8vo.

Brighton; Amalgamated Musicians' Union [1896].

Reprinted from *The Labour Leader*, August 8th, 1896. It is really a reprint of the second article which appeared in the preceding pamphlet.

1896. The origin and nature of secularism; showing that where freethought commonly ends, secularism begins. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 136, cr. 8vo.

London: Watts & Co., 1896. 2s. 6d.

An exposition of secularism. The author holds that secularism is the extension of freethought to ethics, and aims to explain how unfounded are the objections to secular instruction. The work was sent to Mr. Gladstone with the object of explaining to him the quality of the heresy against which he had so strenuously written.

Another edition, pp. xiii+146, cr. 8vo.

Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1896. 2s. 6d.

This American reprint bears the title "English secularism: a confession of faith." Contains a portrait of Mr. Holyoake.

1897. The jubilee history of the Leeds Industrial Co-operative Society, from 1847 to 1897, traced year by year. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. xiii+260, cr. 8vo.

Leeds: Central Co-operative Offices, 1897. 1s. 6d.

Aims to show how a few working men, with no resources, founded the greatest co-operative store in the world; with biographical notices of the presidents, secretaries, and others who have worked in the interest of the Society.

1898. The romance of a deputation. [Signed] G. J. HOLYOAKE. leaflet, 4to.

Brighton Herald Office, 1898.

Refers to the deputation which met the Watch Committee of the Brighton Town Council to discuss the desirability of appointing police matrons to attend to female prisoners in the cells of the Town Hall. Extracted from the *Brighton Herald*, 30th April, 1898.

1898. Omar Khayyam : strange story of the Macmillans and a Leicester bookseller. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.
[Cyclostyled.] pp. 12, cr. 8vo.

Leicester : W. H. Holyoak [1898]. 1s.

In January, 1898, Mr. W. H. Holyoak, a Leicester bookseller, cyclostyled and published Fitzgerald's "Omar Khayyam" under the title of "An octogenarian's recreation in January, 1898, &c." He received from a firm of solicitors acting for Messrs. Macmillan a request to send an account of all copies sold with amount received from the sales, and an undertaking that he would issue no more of the "pirated edition," in default of which an application would be made for an injunction against him. This request called forth Mr. George Jacob Holyoake's cyclostyled publication as above, in which he severely criticises the action of Messrs. Macmillan. There were two editions so issued.

1898. Essentials of co-operative education. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE . . . pp. 19, roy. 8vo.

London : [Labour Co-partnership Association, 1898]. 4d.

Two addresses given in the Labour Association rooms on June 22nd and July 6th, 1898. To care for the welfare of others; the duty of, according an equitable share to all concerned in creating wealth; to know what the true principles of a co-operative society are, their influence and operation; cordial association, the sense of truth and the sense of equity are some of the "essentials" of co-operative education which Mr. Holyoake submits to the reader.

1899. Against clandestine commissions, mainly in the interest of co-operative societies. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 12, roy. 8vo.

London : Gay & Bird, 1899. 3d.

Deals with Lord Russell's bill against Secret Commissions, and points out that to make national, and especially commercial, probity more possible than at present, and to discourage departures therefrom was its main object. Originally appeared in *The Co-operative News*, 25th November to the 9th December, 1899.

Another edition, pp. 18, roy. 8vo.

London : Gay & Bird, 1899. 6d.

This edition contains a letter of John S. Storr, addressed to the then Rt. Hon. Richard A. Cross, dealing with frauds by fiduciary agents.

1900. A New Year time dream. [Signed] G. J. HOLYOAKE. leaflet, 8vo.

1900.

A leaflet sent by Mr. Holyoake to some of his friends in the New Year, 1900.

1900. The jubilee history of the Derby Co-operative Provident Society, Limited, 1850-1900. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE and AMOS SCOTTON. pp. 198, cr. 8vo.

Manchester: Co-operative Printing Society, 1900. 1s. 3d.

The aim has been to create respect for the co-operative cause, and to record what may be instructive to members of the Society, with a view to increasing their pride in the movement to which they belong and to incite them to further their own interests.

1900. The two kinds of co-operation. [Signed] G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 2, dy. 8vo.

Brighton Equitable E. & R. D. Committee [1900].

A comparison between "Rochdale Co-operation" and that known as "Civil Service" or "London Co-operation."

1900. Robert Owen, the precursor of social progress. In justification of the Newtown Memorial. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE . . . [quotation]. pp. 22, dy. 8vo, illus.

Manchester: Co-operative Union [1900].

Written at the request, and issued by the authority of the Owen Memorial Committee. The pamphlet is an appreciation of Owen as social reformer, educationalist, and philanthropist, who, Mr. Holyoake points out, was the founder of "social progress," the pioneer of co-operation, and the man who gave it principles, example and individualist inspiration.

1901. History of the travelling tax. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 16, dy. 8vo.

London: A. Bonner, 1901.

Reprinted from the Co-operative Wholesale Societies' Annual for 1901. For over 25 years Mr. Holyoake served as Chairman of a Committee which laboured to free travelling from taxation.

1902. Robert Owen Co-operative Memorial at Newtown. The unveiling ceremony on July 12th, 1902: address by Mr. G. J. HOLYOAKE. Illus. pp. 19, dy. 8vo.

Manchester: Co-operative Union [1902].

Mr. Holyoake having been Owen's friend and co-worker was invited to unveil the monument erected to the memory of one who had worked so long and so enthusiastically in the cause of humanity. The tribute paid to the founder of "Social progress" by Mr. Holyoake was both eloquent and sympathetic. The pamphlet is reprinted from the *Co-operative News* of July 19th, 1902.

1908. Rationalism on the platform. [Signed] G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 2, 4to.

London: Rationalist Press Assoc., 1908.

An appeal for funds to enable the Rationalist Press Association to engage lecturers to expound the principles of the Association.

1908. Tradesmen on the warpath. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *Anti-Boycott papers, No. 1.* pp. 6, dy. 8vo.

Manchester: Co-operative Union [1908].

In this pamphlet Mr. Holyoake gives a short history of the boycotting of co-operative stores by the trader in the early sixties, which, as he points out, contributed to the success of the stores.

1908. Shopkeepers working against themselves. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *Anti-Boycott papers, No. 2.* pp. 7, dy. 8vo.

Manchester: Co-operative Union [1908].

Exposes the attempt of the private trader to prevent persons supporting the stores at St. Helens, and shows how he worked against his own interest.

1908. The private traders' mistakes. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *Anti-Boycott papers, No. 3.* pp. 8, dy. 8vo.

Manchester: Co-operative Union [1908].

In this the author shows that co-operators had as much right to establish stores as private traders to open shops, and therefore to boycott a store is against public interest and convenience. Co-operative stores can only be opened by the consent of the people wishing to support them but a shop is opened without consulting any person.

1908. Services of co-operation to shopkeepers. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *Anti-Boycott papers, No. 4.* pp. 8, dy. 8vo.

Manchester: Co-operative Union [1908].

Aims to convince the public of the value of co-operation to them, and the trader of the error of his boycotting propensities, as well as the advantages of co-operation to the private trader.

1908. Distinction between the store and the shop. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *Anti-Boycott papers*, No. 5. pp. 8, dy. 8vo.

Manchester: Co-operative Union [1903].

Amongst other things, Mr. Holyoake aims to show that members of co-operative stores have a place in the public mind, as a force of industrial and ethical progress, while the customers of private traders pass like the crowd in the street, upon whom no expectation rests, and that they are without collective aim or opportunities.

1908. The discomfiture of the boycotters. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *Anti-Boycott papers*, No. 6. pp. 7. dy. 8vo.

Manchester: Co-operative Union [1903].

Points out that the private trader has attacked co-operation by underhand intimidation, and by urging the taxing of co-operative profits the trader shows that he has suffered a defeat.

1908. Working people and the private trader. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *Anti-Boycott papers*, No. 7. pp. 8, dy. 8vo.

Manchester: Co-operative Union [1903].

Deals with the private traders' appeal to the press and employers of labour to assist them in taking from the working men the right to purchase at a co-operative store, imposing upon them the penalty of the loss of employment unless they purchase from the private trader's shop.

1908. Cowardice of the boycotters' campaign. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *Anti-Boycott papers*, No. 8. pp. 8, dy. 8vo.

Manchester: Co-operative Union [1903].

Aims to show the injustice of the private trader attacking the co-operative store, when such monsters—the large syndicates and gigantic companies who devour the small shopkeepers by the score—are left alone and undenounced. This the author considers cowardice.

1908. What shopkeepers might do. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *Anti-Boycott Papers*, No. 9. pp. 11, dy. 8vo.

Manchester: Co-operative Union [1903].

In pointing out some of the mistakes of the private trader, Mr. Holyoake tries to show him that his best policy lay in emulating the co-operative principle, that is, to establish a series of stores which will guarantee full weight, fair measure, and unadulterated provisions.

1908. Co-operation: defensive and defiant. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *Anti-Boycott papers*, No. 10. pp. 12, dy. 8vo.

Manchester: Co-operative Union [1903].

Aims to show that the policy of co-operation is to improve the condition of those who do the work of the world, while the policy of the private trader is to fill the till, and that the boycotter cannot drive the co-operator from the field of commerce.

1908. *Anti-Boycott Papers*. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 88, dy. 8vo.

Manchester: Co-operative Union [1903]. 6d.

This work contains the ten foregoing pamphlets, which originally appeared as articles in the *Co-operative News*, in answer to the "private trader," and afterwards published in this collected form. It was the intention of Mr. Holyoake to give to this volume the title "The case of co-operation stated, in respect to the private trader."

1908. Two great preachers; the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes [and] the Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker; or, appreciation distinct from concurrence. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE . . . pp. 15, cr. 8vo.

London: Watts & Co., 1908. 8d.

Mr. Holyoake pays a warm tribute to each of his two opponents, and offers some "elucidations" of his real position—which is that of a candid man—in praising where he sees ground for it, without thereby forfeiting his own right to think differently from those whose character and actions he admired. Originally appeared in the *Christian Commonwealth*, early in the year 1908.

1904. The new party of profit seizers. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 7, cr. 8vo.

Glasgow: Scottish Co-operative Society, 1904.

Written for the Scottish Co-operative Employees' Association, and published in the *Scottish Co-operator*, March 4th, 1904. Objects to the proposal to take from labour its rightful profit, and give it to the consumer, thereby violating the co-operative principle of participation. Points out that it is the worker who creates wealth and profit, and therefore he should have a share of that which he creates.

1905. Bygones worth remembering. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE [quotation]. Illus. 2 vols., pp. 295 and 312, dy. 8vo.

London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1905. 21s.

The volumes contain recollections which run back to the Birmingham Political Union of 1832; memories of some of the most notable men and things of the two past generations, and appreciations of the friendships of innumerable illustrious persons of thought and action. First published in *The Weekly Times and Echo*, in 1904.

1906. The history of co-operation. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE: revised and completed [quotation]. 2 vols. pp. xviii. and x.+691, roy. 8vo.

London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906. 21s.

The first volume is devoted mainly to a description of the early struggles; of the curious experiments that were tried; the disappointments that were experienced; and the successes that were achieved. The second volume records the remarkable strides made in later years, and while the early editions of the work dealt with the "pioneer" and "constructive" periods, this new work includes a third stage—the modern phase of co-operation, 1876-1904. The chapter on co-operative workshops is a defence of the principle of the participation of the worker in profits, capital and management.

DISCUSSIONS

1847. Satchwell and Christianity *versus* Holyoake and atheistical infidelity: Mr. T. Satchwell's two speeches delivered during his discussion with Mr. G. J. Holyoake, formed from notes . . . pp. 12, dy. 8vo.

Northampton: J. Taylor, 1847. 2d.

Mr. Satchwell who was a teacher at Northampton was at that time somewhat popular, and this fact secured for him a strong support of the townsmen, but his attack on Mr Holyoake was so bitter—denouncing him as an atheist “worse than a devil”—that he received very little sympathy from those who came to support him.

1850. The report of the four nights' public discussion, at Bradford, between George J. Holyoake . . . and John Bowes . . . on “The truth of Christianity and the folly of infidelity,” 22nd, 23rd and 24th April [1850]: “The free agency of man and the formation of character,” on the 25th. Taken down by a reporter and revised by both speakers. pp. 154, cr. 8vo.

London: E. Ward, 1850.

The discussion took place in the Temperance Hall, Leeds Road, before an audience of some 1,600 persons each night, the majority being in sympathy with Mr. Holyoake. Five years later he entered into another controversy with Mr. Bowes on “Christian responsibility discouraging and delusive.”

1850. A report of the public discussion between George J. Holyoake and David King, held in the Hall, John Street, Tottenham Court Road, London, on three evenings in September, 1850. pp. 72, cr. 8vo.

London: W. Horsell, 1850.

The subjects of debate were:—(a) What is the Christian system?
(b) What are its legitimate effects?

1852. Report of a public discussion carried on by Henry Townley . . . and George Jacob Holyoake . . . in the Scientific Institution, John Street, Fitzroy Square, London; edited, with notes and an appendix, by Henry Townley, and a preface by James Bennett, D.D. pp. viii+82, cr. 8vo.

London : Ward & Co. [1852]. 1s.

The debates took place on the 24th May and 1st June, 1852, upon the question, "Is there sufficient proof of the existence of a God, that is, of a Being distinct from Nature?"

1852. Townley and Holyoake. Atheistic controversy: a public discussion on the Being of a God. pp. 64, cr. 8vo.

London : Ward & Co. [1852]. 6d.

This is the same as the preceding work, under another title.

1853. Christianity and secularism: report of a public discussion between the Rev. Brewin Grant, B.A., . . . and George Jacob Holyoake, Esq., . . . held in the Royal British Institution, Cowper Street, London, on six successive Thursday evenings, commencing January 20th and ending February 24th, 1853. pp. viii+264, cr. 8vo.

London : Ward & Co., 1853. 2s.

The question debated was, "What advantages would accrue to mankind generally, and the working classes in particular, by the removal of Christianity, and the substitution of secularism in its place?" The discussion was the outcome of the challenge contained in "Why do the clergy avoid discussion?" and it is said that Mr. Grant, who was a Congregational minister, resorted to the meanest insinuations and personalities in order to place Mr. Holyoake at a greater disadvantage than that under which he was already labouring. The views expressed by Mr. Holyoake were criticised by the Rev. J. H. Hinton, M.A., in his "Secular Tracts," No. 1, and also by William McCaw in his "Truth frae 'mang the heather."

1854. Christianity *versus* secularism : a public discussion in Newcastle-upon-Tyne between the Rev. J. H. Rutherford and Mr. G. J. Holyoake, on the evenings of 1st, 3rd and 5th August, 1853. pp. iv+170, 12mo.

London : Ward & Co., 1854. 1s. 3d.

The subjects of debate, which took place in the Lecture Room, Nelson Street, were "The leading fact on which Christianity is founded is justification by faith," "The moral fact upon which it is not founded is justification by conduct," "Some of Christ's teachings are ambiguous and impracticable," "Some of Christ's teachings are disastrous, and His example, and especially in respect of His death, wanted force of intellectual character." The correspondence between Dr. Rutherford and Mr. Holyoake on the subject and form of debate evidences mutual respect, which continued for some time after the discussion had taken place.

1854. Report of a public discussion between the Rev. Brewin Grant, B.A., and George Jacob Holyoake, Esq., held in the City Hall, Glasgow, on Monday and Thursday evenings, commencing October 2nd, and ending October 19th, 1854. pp. xx+220, cr. 8vo.

Glasgow : Robert Stark, 1854. 2s.

The subject of discussion was, "Is secularism inconsistent with reason and the moral sense, and condemned by experience?" By secularism is meant that phase of thought represented by Mr. Holyoake's writings and in the publications edited by him. Miss Collet, who had frequently criticised Mr. Holyoake's views on questions of religion, in referring to this discussion and Mr. Grant's unfairness, wrote, "The first striking point in the debate is the almost superhuman blackguardism of Grant." Mr. Holyoake's statements in the discussion were criticised by Dr. M'Innes in his "Modern infidelity tried on its own merits."

1856. Public discussion on teetotalism and the Maine law, between George Jacob Holyoake, Esq., and Dr. Frederic R. Lees [quotation]. pp. 22, dy. 8vo.

London : W. Tweedie, 1856. 6d.

The discussion took place in the Temperance Hall, Derby, on March 3rd and 4th, 1856. The report first appeared in the "Works of Dr. Lees," vol. 3, appendix. Mr. Holyoake complained that Dr. Lees had unfairly curtailed his (Mr. Holyoake's) argument, stating that it was as much a reply or commentary as a report.

Second edition, revised from the notes of both disputants. pp. 32, dy. 8vo.

London : Holyoake & Co. [1856]. 8d.

1858. Report of a discussion on the Maine law, between Mr. G. J. Holyoake . . . and Mr. G. E. Lomax . . . in the Theatre Royal, Blackburn, on the evenings of November 16th and 17th, 1857. In two parts, pp. 40 and 40, fcap 8vo.

Blackburn : F. J. Nichols, 1858.

Mr. Holyoake always maintained that if the Maine law were passed it would be unjust to moderate drinkers, who should not be made to suffer because of others addicted to over-indulgence.

1870. Secularism, scepticism and atheism : verbatim report of the proceedings of a two nights' public debate between Messrs. G. J. Holyoake and C. Bradlaugh, held at the New Hall of Science, 142, Old Street, City Road, London, on the evenings of March 10th and 11th, 1870. pp. viii + 77, cr. 8vo.

London : Austin & Co., 1870.

Mr. Bradlaugh denied that there was any middle standing between atheism and theism, and maintained that secularism was impracticable when separated from atheism, urging that the plan of secularism was essentially atheistic. Mr. Holyoake maintained that it was not.

EDITED, PREFACED, &c.

1848. "The man Paterson." *God versus Paterson: the extraordinary Bow Street Police report* [edited by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 92, dy. 8vo.

London: H. Hetherington [1848]. 6d.

Contains a letter entitled "Paterson vindicated," by Mr. Holyoake, as well as an address of the Anti-Persecution Union, signed G. Jacob Holyoake.

1844. The trial of Thomas Paterson for blasphemy before the High Court of Justiciary, Edinburgh . . . also the trials of Thomas Finlay and Miss Matilda Roalfe (for blasphemy); with notes and a special dissertation on blasphemy prosecutions in general, by the Secretary of the Anti-Persecution Union [*i.e.* GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 80, dy. 8vo.

London: Anti-Persecution Union, 1844. 1s.

1851. To the electors of the Ward of Walbrook. [An address signed] Robert Le Blond. pp. 8, cr. 8vo. [1851.]

The address was revised by Mr. Holyoake.

- 1851-4. Cabinet of Reason; edited by G. J. HOLYOAKE. cr. 8vo. London: Holyoake & Co., 1851-4, 6d. and 1s.

The series was intended to supply accredited works in the departments of instruction. They were to be secular in character, and were to include subjects on religion, politics, social science, and education in the sense of exposition, discipline and development. Several volumes were announced, but probably only the following six were published:—

1. The task of to-day. By Evans Bell [issued 8rd December, 1851]. 1s.
2. Why do the clergy avoid discussion and the philosophers discountenance it? By G. J. Holyoake [issued in May, 1852]. 6d.
3. Organisation, not of arms—but ideas. By G. J. Holyoake [issued 18th April, 1853]. 6d.
4. History of Pel Verjuice, the wanderer. Edited from the papers of Charles Reece Pemberton, by J. Searle [issued in October, 1853]. 1s.
5. Spinoza's Treatise on politics. Translated from the Latin by William MacCall [issued in November, 1853]. 1s.
6. New Germany, its modern history, philosophy, etc. By Dr. A. Ruge [issued in June, 1854]. 1s.
7. Dirt and pictures separated in the works of old masters. By Henry Merritt [issued in 1854]. 1s.

1853. Pulmonary consumption, bronchitis, asthma, etc. By ALFRED B. MADDOCK. 1853.

In a note before the compiler, Mr. Holyoake states that "Dr. Maddock being more skilled in cures than composition engaged me to prepare the work for the press. Anyone who looks into the book, which reached the 4th edition, will see that the introductory chapter was written by me."

1854. Dirt and pictures separated in the works of the old masters. By HENRY MERRITT. pp. xv+72, cr. 8vo.

London : Holyoake & Co., 1854.

Mr. Holyoake wrote the preface to this volume, and revised and edited the whole work.

1857. The confessions of Rousseau ; with a preface by the Editor of *The Reasoner*. pp. vi+170, cr. 8vo.

London : Holyoake & Co., 1857. 1s. 6d.

This is abridged from the 1796 edition, and was originally published in 22 penny numbers.

1858. Letter to the parliament and the press. By FELIX PYAT, BESSON and A. TALANDIER ; with a preface by the publisher [G. J. HOLYOAKE]. pp. vi+10, cr. 8vo.

London : Holyoake & Co., 1858. 2d.

1864. The age of reason. By THOMAS PAINE ; with introductory essay on his genius and services, by G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. vii+120, cr. 8vo.

London : Holyoake & Co. [1864]. 1s.

Another edition.

London : Holyoake & Co., 1868. 1s. 6d.

This edition is entitled "The age of reason, being an investigation of true and fabulous theology. By Thomas Paine ; with an essay on his character and his services, by G. J. Holyoake."

1864. Literature of tyrannicide. Killing no murder. By COLONEL TITUS, a Royalist assassin [quotation]; with a new preface [by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 38, cr. 8vo.

London : F. Farrah, 1864.

Colonel Titus was a Royalist pamphleteer, and in his "Killing no murder" he urged that some person should put Cromwell to death.

1865. Robert Dalby and his world of troubles. By HENRY MERRITT. cr. 8vo.

London : Chapman & Hall, 1865.

This work was rewritten in parts and the whole edited by Mr. Holyoake, for which he received the handsome sum of £5 from Mr. Merritt. Mr. Holyoake completed the work on the 31st of January, and took it to the publishers on the 18th May, 1865.

1868. Political poems. By VICTOR HUGO and GARIBALDI; with an introductory preface by G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London : F. Farrah, 1868. 2d.

The poems contain in small compass all the fearless, indignant and outspoken zeal of the Corn Law rhymers, the poetic imagery of Shelley, united to the withering scorn and contempt of Voltaire, against sacerdotal stupidity and imperial villainy. Reprinted from *The Morning Star*.

1874. Gentleman farming in Blennerhasset. By WILLIAM LAWSON and C. D. HUNTER. post 8vo.

London : Longmans, 1874. 5s.

This book was edited and revised by Mr. Holyoake, indeed a portion of it was rewritten by him.

1878. Madame Malibran : the professional letters of a great singer; with introduction [by G. J. HOLYOAKE]. pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

Brighton : Guardian Office [1878].

Reprinted with additions, from the *Brighton Guardian*, 16th October, 1878.

1890. Conspiracy of grocers against public education: the suppressed chapters on co-operation in "The laws of every-day life." By H. ARNOLD FORSTER, M.P. with an introduction by G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 32, fcap. 8vo.

Manchester: Co-operative Union [1890].

1890. Stepping stones to agnosticism. By F. J. GOULD; with introduction by G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. iv+96, cr. 8vo.

London: Watts & Co. [1890].

Originally published in six penny numbers, at intervals of a month or two, the collective publication came soon after the completion of the sixth number.

1891. Essays in rationalism. By CHARLES ROBERT NEWMAN . . . with preface by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, and biographical sketch by J. M. WHEELER. pp. 63, cr. 8vo.

London: Progressive Publishing Co., 1891.

1897. The path I took, and where it led me: an autobiography and argument. By A MONMOUTHSHIRE FARMER; revised by G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 48, cr. 8vo.

London: Watts & Co. [1897]. 6d.

The author, who had for nearly 80 years lived in a rural district of Monmouthshire, here gives some interesting particulars of religious life in the early part of the 19th century, and of the many religious difficulties that beset his path, more directly with the object of demonstrating the unworthiness of the Church of England to allegiance as a Church representing and dispensing true religion.

1899. History of the taxes on knowledge; their origin and repeal. By COLLET DOBSON COLLET; with an introduction by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. 2 vols., pp. xiv+217 and vi+216. cr. 8vo.

London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1899. 16s.

1904. A new catechism. By M. M. MANGASARIAN [with an introduction by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 80, dy. 8vo.

London: Watts & Co., 1904.

PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS, EDITED

1842. *The Oracle of Reason*; or, philosophy vindicated; [jointly edited]. 2 vols. pp. 482 and 406, dy. 8vo.
1841-48. (Weekly, 1d.)

Nos. 1-7—6th Nov., 1841, to 8th Jan., 1842; edited by Charles Southwell.

Nos. 8-86—12th Feb., 1842, to 27th Aug., 1842; edited by G. Jacob Holyoake.

Nos. 87-85—3rd. Sept., 1842, to 29th July, 1843; edited by Thomas Paterson.

Nos. 86-108—5th Aug., 1843, to 2nd Dec., 1843; edited by William Chilton.

The journal was intended as a successor to *The Lion* and *The Prompter*, and was projected on the lines of the antagonistic tactics of Richard Carlile and the levity of Taylor.

- 1848-45. *The Movement*, anti-persecution gazette, and register of progress: a weekly journal of Republican politics, anti-theology, and utilitarian morals; edited by G. JACOB HOLYOAKE, assisted by M. Q. RYALL. 2 vols. pp. 464 and 116, dy. 8vo. 1848-45. (Weekly, Nos. 1-67 1½d. No. 68, 2d.)

Communism was a feature of *The Movement*, and it advocated larger liberty and improvement. Mr. Holyoake afterwards considered it a mistake to have created *The Movement*, as the prejudice was strong after the tone of *The Oracle of Reason*. Although the public believed the writers of that journal to be honest, it regarded them as offensive, and consequently refused the support and sympathy the Editors so sadly needed.

1845. *The Circular of the Anti-Persecution Union* [quotation]; edited by G. JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 16, dy. 8vo. 1845. (Monthly, 1d.)

Edited while Mr. Holyoake was in Scotland, and intended as a continuation of *The Movement*, but only four numbers were issued. It was discontinued for the reason that the expense was too heavy, and because it was thought that a free distribution of some thousands of short addresses would be cheaper, and would the more effectually serve the purpose aimed at by the Union.

- 1846-72. *The Reasoner* [series] ; edited by G. J. HOLYOAKE.
80 vols. Various sizes, from dy. 8vo. to fcap. folio.
1846-72.

The Reasoner addressed itself to those who had some amount of intelligence, and just enough education to require a reason for their beliefs and opinions. Expounded and advocated all extreme opinions—in religion, society, communism and politics, its aim being to secularise life and rationalise theology. Also advocated the enfranchisement of the people under a qualified suffrage as necessary for the security of good government. Co-operation is treated as a branch of the "organisation of labour," while trades' union questions are dealt with as a means of obtaining the recognition of labour as the working man's property, saleable on the principle of free trade. The following is the chronological order in which the *Reasoner* series was published :—

The Reasoner. 8rd June, 1846, to 30th June, 1861, Nos. 1-799.
The Counsellor. August, 1861, to December, 1861, Nos. 1-5. [*Reasoner* Nos. 790-794].

Secular World. 10th May, 1862, to 1st June, 1864 ; Vol. 1, Nos. 1-19 ; Vol. 2, Nos. 1-18. [*Reasoner* Nos. 795-827].

English Leader. 4th June, 1864, to 15th October, 1864, Nos. 1-30. [*Reasoner* Nos. 828-847].

Secular World. 1st December, 1864, No. 14. [*Reasoner* No. 848].

The Reasoner. 1st January, 1865, to 1st December, 1865, Nos. 849-899. [Should be Nos. 849-859].

English Leader. 6th January, 1866, to 14th July, 1866, Nos. 1-10 and 31-48. Should have been numbered 21-48. [*Reasoner* Nos. 860-897.]

The Reasoner. (Review series). 1st November and 1st December, 1868, Nos. 898-9.

The Reasoner. (Review series). April and May, 1870, Nos. 890-1.

The Reasoner. January, 1871, to July, 1872, Nos. 892-910.

A group of secularists in Lancashire and Yorkshire wrote Mr. Holyoake suggesting the resuscitation of *The Reasoner* as the organ of those who preferred his broader conception of the secularist ideal. It was this event that led to the revival in 1871.

- 1846-48. *The Utilitarian Record* ; [edited by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. 1-104 and 1-52, dy. 8vo. 1846-48.

Issued weekly as a separate leaflet with *The Reasoner*. After the 78th week it formed part of that journal.

1848. *The Cause of the People: a political history of nine weeks* ; edited by W. J. LINTON and G. J. HOLYOAKE [quotation]. pp. 72, folio. 1848. (Weekly, 2d.)

The title was suggested by that of a French journal then being issued by "George Sand," *Le Cause du Peuple*. It ran for nine weeks only, 20th May, 1848, to 15th July, 1848. The journal, which was published in the Isle of Man to escape the stamp tax, advocated the People's Charter, and exhibited features of reformation which had not previously been attempted. The cessation cost the Editors £60, after paying all expenses. The nine numbers were afterwards issued in paper wrappers at one shilling.

- 1848-49. *The Spirit of the Age*; [edited by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. 1848-49.

This journal was commenced by Mr. Lloyd Jones, Mr. Buchanan, and Mr. Alexander Campbell in July, 1848, and on the 27th November, 1849, it was purchased by Mr. Ashurst, who gave Mr. Holyoake the editorial control of it, the object being to support in the London press the Anti-Slavery cause. Mr. Holyoake advised the discontinuance of the journal in February, thus preventing a loss to Mr. Ashurst of a considerable sum of money, and it ceased with the 32nd issue about February 4th, 1849.

1850. *The People's Review of literature and politics*; edited by Friends of order and progress [*i.e.*, G. J. HOLYOAKE and others]. pp. 136, cr. 8vo. 1850. 1s.

The views of the conductors inclined towards communism in politics, but of a philosophical kind, and to the genial rationalistic in religion. The evident intention of the writers was to advance the interests and character of the poorer portion of society. The publication was mainly supported by Mr. Ashurst, who also contributed articles over the pseudonym of "Edward Search." He lost nearly £80 over the venture. Only three numbers were issued—February, March and April, 1850.

- 1850-51. *The Reasoner Tracts*; [edited by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. dy. 8vo. Nos. 1-58, 4 pages each, 10th April, 1850, to 14th May, 1851.

1854. *The Fleet Street Advertiser*; edited by G. J. HOLYOAKE.

Issued between June and December, 1854, to test the blank space question. The paper consisted of two pages only, one of which was blank, and on the other was printed the same news each week for nearly six months. Its only customer appears to have been the Board of Inland Revenue, who purchased six copies each day of publication. On the number of copies sold he incurred a £2,500 fine.

- 1854-55. *The War Chronicle and War fly sheets*; [edited by G. J. HOLYOAKE]. 1854-55.

These two papers were issued by Mr. Holyoake in addition to three other nominal monthlies—*Collet's War Chronicle*; *Moore's War Chronicle*; and *Hoppey's War Chronicle*, to test the law of the newspaper stamp tax, thereby incurring a penalty of £20 on each number he issued; or, £200,000 in all. Four of these journals ceased with the repeal of the stamp tax, but Mr. Holyoake continued issuing the *War fly sheets* until 12 days after the Queen gave her Royal assent to the repeal on the 15th June, 1855.

1855. *The Whipper-in and Marylebone Times*; [edited by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. 1855.

No. 1 issued on 2nd June, 1855. It advocated the restoration of local self government, vindicated the just claims of labour, and protested against irresponsible government and secret diplomacy, &c.

1860. *The Reasoner Gazette*; or, *Co-operative and Secular News*. pp. 208, cr. 4to. 1860.

Issued in 52 four-page numbers, 1st January to 23rd December, 1860, forming supplements to *The Reasoner*, vol. 25. It was afterwards incorporated in *The Reasoner*, because the Post Office authorities refused to register the paper for transmission abroad, unless it appeared as an essential part of the journal.

1861. *The Counsellor*, on secular, co-operative and political questions; edited by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. [*Reasoner series*]. August to December, 1861. fcap. folio. [5 numbers only were issued, 1½d. and 2d.]

In 1861, owing to ill-health, Mr. Holyoake discontinued *The Reasoner*, which had reached its 788th number, and issued *The Counsellor* as a meanwhile journal. Its aim was to advise on the right of secular affirmation in Courts of Law, to offer counsel on co-operative matters, to state the grounds for demanding that the interest of labour should have recognition and representation already accorded to vested interests, &c. This was first announced to be published under the title of "Secular letters." Being invited to take a share in the control of *The National Reformer*, Mr. Holyoake dropped publication of *The Counsellor* with the December issue, and in January, 1862, joined the staff of the former journal. The arrangement only lasted three months, and in May he resumed *The Reasoner* series under the title of *The Secular World*.

- 1862-64. *The Secular World and Social Economist*; edited by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. [*Reasoner series*]. 2 vols. fcap. folio. 1862-64.

This journal was founded immediately after Mr. Holyoake left *The National Reformer*. That form of opinion afterwards recognised as secularism was first advanced in *The Reasoner*, but it was thought desirable to adopt the name *Secular World*, which should indicate the principle of which *The Reasoner* had become the exponent. Another section was devoted to the development and vindication of co-operation. In politics it contends for radical ascendancy on the open plain of principle. In education it seeks to show that secular principles imply separateness of instruction, and not conflict with religious conviction. From 10th May, 1862, to 5th July, 1862, 9 weekly numbers were issued at 2d.; 1st August, 1862, to 1st June, 1864, 23 monthly numbers at 2d. On the 4th June it was succeeded by *The English Leader*, which was issued in 20 numbers and discontinued on the 15th October, 1864. On the 1st December, 1864, one number of *The Secular World* was issued at 1d., and on the 1st January, 1865, it became *The Reasoner*. There were 88 numbers in all.

- 1864-66. *The English Leader*: a journal for the discussion of stationary questions; [edited by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *Reasoner* series]. folio. 1864-66. (Weekly, 2d.)

Sought to promote associative communication between the industrious classes of England and their brethren on the Continent, in the Colonies, and America, and to be a medium for correcting the misrepresentations of the press as to the movement of the European nationalities struggling for freedom. Succeeded the first series of *The Secular World* on the 4th June, 1864, and continued for 20 weeks until the 15th October, 1864. It then failed for lack of funds, but on the suggestion of Mr. Crawford it was revived on 6th January, 1866, and Mr. Holyoake continued editing it until the issue of the 48th number on 14th July, 1866, when he gave the journal to Mr. Gooding but he himself occasionally contributed to it. This was eventually succeeded by *The Reasoner*. The numbering of the issues in the second series is somewhat misleading. They are numbered 1-10 and 31-48, instead of 21-48.

1866. *The Working Man*: a weekly record of social and industrial progress. 2 vols. folio. 1866. (2d.)

Mr. Holyoake was invited to contribute to this journal early in January, 1866, with the object of describing the life of the operative classes, and shortly afterwards was asked to edit it. The engagement began with the 7th issue in February and continued for about eight months. There were 52 numbers issued, the first appearing on January 6th, and the last on December 22nd, 1866. The Bishopsgate Institute set finishes with the 50th issue, December, 1866.

- 1867-68. *Industrial Partnerships' Record*; edited by E. O. GREENING and GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. folio. 1867-68.

This journal was established in Manchester and was issued in twelve monthly numbers, March, 1867, to February, 1868. It was then transplanted to London, Mr. Holyoake having been offered the editorship on the 2nd January, 1868, and he became part proprietor on January 19th, 1868. In March it was published under the title of *The Social Economist*.

- 1868-69. *The Social Economist, Industrial Partnerships' Record and Co-operative Review*; [edited by E. O. GREENING, G. J. HOLYOAKE and E. EDGER]. folio. (Monthly, 2d.)

1868-69. *The Social Economist—continued.*

The organ of co-operative societies, which afterwards became *The Agricultural Economist* in so far as it dealt with "One and all" matters, while co-operative intelligence was incorporated in *The Co-operative News*, the first number of which appeared on the 2nd September, 1871. In March, 1869, the Annual Co-operative Congress at Leeds, with a view to the formation of a newspaper company, instructed a committee to meet Mr. Holyoake and receive his proposals for the transfer of *The Social Economist*, and being wishful that there should be an official paper he agreed to discontinue *The Social Economist* and refer to arbitration the interest of the paper. This offer was "deemed reasonable and worthy of acceptance" by the committee. Mr. Holyoake therefore assumed that the property was no longer his and discontinued the paper with the September issue in 1869. It was not until some years later, in 1885, that Mr. Holyoake received any compensation for the loss he sustained. Mr. Holyoake jointly edited the paper from March, 1868, to September, 1869.

1869. *The New House Agitator: a current Elvetham Gazette; a journal established at a very early period, first published in London in the middle ages, and formerly edited by Sir CHRISTOPHER WREN. No. 1,000. November, 1869. pp. 4, cr. 4to. 1s.*

Only one number was issued, although numbered 1,000. A specimen of the trouble Mr. Holyoake would take to give amusement or pleasure to his friends. In the seventies he was a frequent guest at the house of Sam Timmins, a Shakespearian scholar and distinguished citizen of Birmingham. Mr. Timmins' house, "Elvetham Lodge," was small, and his wife feared the constant increase of books and consequently agitated for a new house. Hence Mr. Holyoake wrote and printed the first issue of *The New House Agitator* for the amusement of his host and hostess.

1871. *Proceedings of the [third] Co-operative Congress, 1871, held in the Birmingham and Midland Institute, April 10th, 11th, 12th and 18th; reported by Henry Pitman, edited by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 97, super roy. 8vo.*
1872. *Fourth Annual Co-operative Congress, held at Bolton, April 1st, 2nd and 8rd, 1872; edited by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 187, super roy. 8vo.*
1878. *Fifth Annual Co-operative Congress, held at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, April 12th, 14th, 15th and 16th, 1878; edited by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 188, super roy. 8vo.*

1876. *The Secularist*: a liberal weekly review; edited by G. J. HOLYOAKE and G. W. FOOTE, 1876. (2d.).

The object was to encourage secular organisation; to promote mental concord and practical union among freethinkers; to incite them to strenuously endeavour social improvement by the lifting of the masses from their slough of ignorance. Republican in principle and sentiment. First issued on 1st January, 1876, and Mr. Holyoake, finding editorial co-operation with Mr. Foote impossible, severed his connection as joint editor with the February issue.

- 1876-77. *The Secular Review*: a journal of daily life; edited by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. cr. 4to. 1876-77. (Weekly, 1d.)

Aimed to recast old forms of propagandism to show that the secular principle implied separateness of instruction, and not conflict of religious conviction. Advocated the re-institution of labour exchanges, and contended for Radical ascendancy. Published weekly from the 6th August, 1876, to the 11th February, 1877, on which date it was transferred to Mr. Charles Watts. Under the proprietorship and editorship of Mr. Holyoake there were issued 28 numbers, 27 forming volume 1, and one number in volume 2. Mr. Holyoake afterwards agreed to write weekly for the journal gratuitously.

- 1878-80. *The Brighton Guardian*; edited by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. Weekly.

Mr. Holyoake conducted the paper between January, 1878, and April, 1880.

- 1883-86. *The Present Day*: a journal discussing agitated questions without agitation; edited by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. 3 vols., imp. 8vo. 1883-86. (Monthly, 2d.)

Its aim was to restore secularism to its original broad base; to show that the foolish day had passed when men could be shocked into truth by sensation or kicked into it by outrage. Considers questions of religion, morals, philosophy, forms of government, modes of industry, and theories of social life. Mr. Holyoake had planned this journal while sailing up the St. Lawrence River in 1882, and intended naming it, first "*The Secular Citizen*," and then "*The Present*." There were 86 issues in all, June, 1883, to May, 1886, in which month it was transferred to Mr. Thomas Barrett, who issued only 4 numbers—June, July, August-September (issued as one number) and October.

1889. *The Universal Republic: an occasional magazine advocating the amity of nations*; edited by GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. pp. 8, roy. 8vo. January, 1889. (2d.)

This magazine was not issued for the purpose of profit, but to put into the minds of the European world the idea of the amity of nations, so far as an object so vast can be advanced by means so limited. When Mr. Holyoake visited America in 1879 and 1882, he was invited to meet Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, reputed to be the richest woman in America. She gave large sums of money to further educational schemes and in charity. Mrs. Thompson's admiration for Mr. Holyoake was heightened by the fact that he "had no axe to grind," and made no application for money to help him in any of his social schemes. She gave him 500 dollars, which he might expend in advancing the cause of republicanism in England. He therefore issued this journal and would have continued to publish it "occasionally" if Mrs. Thompson had desired it.

1892. *The Liberty of Bequest Intelligencer* [quotation]; edited by G. J. HOLYOAKE. No. 1, January, 1892. pp. 8, cr. 8vo. 1d.

Only one number was issued. This was the organ of a Committee for the purpose of altering the law which prevented secularists leaving money for secularist propaganda. The Committee issued a few pamphlets, one by E. G. Taylor, entitled "Shall thought be fettered in England?" Mr. Holyoake was President of the Committee from its inception.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEWSPAPERS, &c.

1888. *Mona's Herald*.

1889. *Birmingham Herald*; *Penny Satirist*.

1840. *New Moral World*; *The Advocate*; *Northern Star*;
Cheltenham Free Press.

1841. *Worcester Chronicle*; *Sheffield Iris*; *Leeds Times*.

1845-46. *The Herald of Progress*; edited by JOHN CRAMP.
imp. 8vo. (Fortnightly, 1d.)

Mr. Holyoake contributed to this journal from its beginning on the 25th October, 1845, until the end on the 28th May, 1846. There were 16 numbers in all. This periodical was subsequently incorporated in *The Reasoner*.

1847. *The Citizen*.

1847-48. *People's Press*. (Monthly, 2d.)

Mr. Holyoake was a regular contributor from the beginning in January, 1847, till August, 1848, probably later. It was issued in the *Isle of Man* by the publisher, Mr. Shirrefs, to escape the Stamp tax.

1850-58. *The Leader*. (Weekly, 6d.)

Mr. Holyoake was associated with *The Leader* staff from the beginning to its discontinuance. This journal appeared on the 80th March with Mr. Holyoake as manager. It aimed at the advocacy of socialistic principles, and later declared itself in support of co-operation. There are many articles signed G. J. Holyoake, and many others signed "Ion." Mr. Holyoake expressed a wish to make a selection of them and reprint in pamphlet form.

1856-69. *The Morning and Evening Star*.

Series of articles and leaders, signed "Disque."

1857. *The Darlington Times*.

1858-60. *The Daily Chronicle*.

1859. The Daily News.

A series of articles, signed "Disque," on the leaders' principles, policy and proceedings of the Northern Reform Union.

1860. The Manchester Examiner and Times; The Daily Review; The Sentinel.

1861. The Boston Investigator.

1862-68. National Reformer.

Mr. Holyoake was invited to become one of the editorial contributors in January, 1862, and to control four pages, with the right to reject contributions on matters likely to bring discredit into the secular ranks. Mr. Bradlaugh altered the arrangement by asking Mr. Holyoake to take two columns instead of four, to which he objected. He left in April, 1862, and published *The Secular World* in the following month. The *Reformer* ceased in February, 1863.

1863-1904. The Newcastle Chronicle.

1865. The Darlington Mercury.

1865-70. The London Figaro; People's Magazine; Glasgow Morning Journal; Saturday Post; Examiner.

1869. Pall Mall.

1869-80. The Echo.

Mr. Holyoake accepted the offer of Mr. R. Arthur Arnold to write for *The Echo* on the 9th of January, 1869. He contributed for some years.

1869-88. Birmingham Weekly Post.

Contributed a weekly article for 20 years.

1871-1904. The Co-operative News.

Mr. Holyoake contributed from the beginning in 1871 as "Our Special Correspondent," and as late as 1904, he published through its columns "The unpublished correspondence of the Robert Owen family."

1871. The Spiritual Magazine; The Leeds Evening Express.

1871-79. Cope's Tobacco Plant.

1872. Boston Globe.

1878. Midland Free Press.

1876. The Index (Boston).

Mr. Holyoake was one of six editorial contributors.

1876. The Leicester Daily Mercury.

1878. The Inquirer.

1879. The Worker (New York); New York Tribune;
Cincinnati Daily Gazette.

1881. The Labour Standard; The Free Religious Index;
Yorkshire Post.

1882-95. The Gazette (Washington); New York Daily
Tribune; The Times; The Friday Review.

1883-4. The Pioneer; The Co-operator; The Montreal
Herald; The National Farmer.

1886. The Yarmouth Mercury.

1887. The Bradford Observer.

1888. The Spectator.

1888-9. The Athenæum.

1890. The Manchester Times; The Speaker; The Women's
Gazette; The Rochdale Observer.

1891. The Voice (New York).

Mr. Holyoake was a weekly contributor in 1891.

1892. The Brighton Examiner; The Umpire.

1894. The Methodist Times.

1895. The Stockport Chronicle; The Weekly Sun.

1896. Secular Thought.

1897. Labour Co-partnership (Wayside papers).

1899. "One and All" Gardening.

1901. The Brighton Herald.

1901. The Sun.

At the invitation of Mr. Horatio Bottomley, Mr. Holyoake, at the age of 84, edited this journal for one week (16th to 21st December, 1901).

1902. The New Age; Yorkshire Weekly Post; Blackburn Weekly Telegraph; The Liberty Review; Notes and Queries, 1902-4.

1903. Christian Commonwealth; The Literary Guide; The Freethinker; L'Émancipation, Nîmes.

1903-5. The Agricultural Economist.

Mr. Holyoake contributed "Associative topics" from January, 1903, to May, 1905.

1904. The Western Evening Herald; The Individualist; The Leeds Mercury.

1905. The Clarion.

1906. Reynolds's Newspaper; The Star.

V.D. Lend a hand (Boston); Whitehall Review; The Freethinker's Magazine; Leicester Chronicle; The Young man. La Co-operazione Italiano (Milan).

CONTRIBUTIONS TO BOOKS AND MAGAZINES

1886. The reign of time : a poem. [Signed] G. J. H. In *The Baptist Tract Magazine*. vol. 2, page 841. 1886.

This is the earliest contribution the compiler has discovered by Mr. Holyoake, who was at the time but 19 years of age.

- 1866-68. Town Talk. (A series of articles were published in a variety of papers for Messrs. Cassell and Co.)

1874. Gambling in politics. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The Contemporary Review*, March, 1874, pp. 638-656.

Deals with the fall of Gladstone's Government, and attacks the Radicals for pressing their grievance so far as to ruin a progressive Ministry. The causes for the fall are stated to be the ballot, Mr. Gladstone's sincerity, and the Liberal insurrection of impatience.

1875. The beginning of the co-operative trouble. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The Contemporary Review*, July, 1875, pp. 269-280.

A short history of the genesis of the co-operative movement.

1876. A dead movement which learned to live again. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The Contemporary Review*, August, 1876, pp. 444-461.

The effect of the failure of the Queenwood experiment upon co-operation.

1877. Impatience in politics. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The Nineteenth Century*, August, 1877, pp. 28-48.

A plea for gradual as against hurried progression.

1878. The new principle of industry. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The Nineteenth Century*, September, 1878, pp. 494-511.

A panegyric on the equity of co-operation. This article is reviewed by Mr. J. M. Kelly in *Owen's College Magazine*, January, 1879, pp. 71-80.

1879. State socialism. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The Nineteenth Century*, June, 1879. pp. 1114-1120.

1880. A stranger in America. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The Nineteenth Century*, July, 1880, pp. 67-87.

Afterwards reprinted in his "Among the Americans," *see* page 41.

1882. Theory of political epithets. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The Nineteenth Century*, July, 1882, pp. 84-97.

An epigrammatic plea for abstention from invective, and was reprinted in *The Nineteenth Century* (American), July, 1882, pp. 26-30.

1883. American and Canadian Notes. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The Nineteenth Century*, August, 1883, pp. 292-299.

Gathered during his visit to America.

1885. The advantages of emigration: (1) to those who go out, (2) to those who are left at home. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *In Co-operative Societies' Annual*, 1885, pp. 245-253.

1887. The growth of co-operation in England. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The Fortnightly Review*, August 1887, pp. 157-169.

1888. Causes of popular sympathy for Ireland. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The Westminster Review*, 1888, pp. 417-428.

1889. The progress of co-operation [in England]. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The New Review*, September, 1889, pp. 332-344.

1889. The progress of co-operation [in France]. By M. MILLERAND and GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The New Review*, September, 1889, pp. 845-856.

1890. Co-operation and Socialism. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.] *Subjects of the day*, August, 1890, pp. 89-104.

1890. Why was Bruno murdered? By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *In The Giordano Bruno pamphlet*, No. 2.
New York: H. L. Green, 1890.

Bruno was burned at the stake in 1592, by order of the Inquisition, for heresy.

1890. The Sorrows of God. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The Freethinkers' Magazine*, September-December, pp. 455. *et seq.*

1892. Unforgotten dead. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *Freethinker*, 1892.

1898. The qualification of principle. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *New Occasions*, No. 1, June, 1898, pp. 12-18.

1894. Characteristics of John Tyndall. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The Freethinkers' Magazine*.
Buffalo, N.Y.: H. L. Green, 1894.

One of a series of articles on Tyndall in the memorial number.

1898. Emigrant education. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The Nineteenth Century*, vol. 44, 1898, pp. 427-486.

1900. A Defence of Agnosticism. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *Freethought Magazine*, November, 1900, pp. 613-17.

1901. Misconceptions of Agnosticism. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *Freethought Magazine*, February, 1901, pp. 65-8.

1901. History of the travelling tax. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. . . The Co-operative Wholesale Societies' Annual, 1901, pp. 281-248.

Afterwards published as a separate pamphlet.

1901. A Defence of Agnosticism. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. *The Agnostic Annual*, 1901, pp. 84-88.
1901. Characteristics and toleration of Mr. Gladstone. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The Agnostic Annual*, pp. 25-8.
1901. Anarchism. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The Nineteenth Century*, vol. 50, 1901, pp. 688-686.
1901. My religious days. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The Agnostic Annual*.
1902. Higher co-operation: its inner history. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 71, N.S., 1902, pp. 81-101.
1903. In the days of Protection. [Signed] GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *Labour and Protection*: edited by H. W. MASSINGHAM, pp. 98-117.
London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903. 6s.
Contributes some reminiscences of the condition of the masses in the days of protection, before our present system was adopted.
1903. Did things go better before our time? By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 74, N.S., 1903, pp. 480-491.
Mr. Holyoake, speaking from the working class point of view, answers in the negative. The article is autobiographical, founded on a personal experience extending back to the year 1826, when he first became familiar with workshops.
1904. Unpublished correspondence of the Robert Owen family. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. *The Co-operative News*, Nos. 16-32, 16th April to 6th August, 1904.
Published in 13 numbers. The 11th chapter deals with co-operation in London ten years after Mr. Owen's death, the 12th with the Naashoba community of Frances Wright, and the 13th with the famous Cincinnati debate of 1829.
1904. The new propagandism in England. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. *Liberal Review* (American), May, 1904, pp. 221-4.

1905. Sanitation and longevity. By G. J. HOLYOAKE.
Sanitary Progress, August, 1905, p. 6.

1906. Woman suffrage. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.
The Independent Review, vol. 9, April, 1906, pp. 61-70.

1907. Co-operative houses and gardens. By G. J. HOLYOAKE.
"One and All" *Gardening*, 1907, pp. 57-58.

The article deals with the Ealing Tenants' Association's houses, and contains a portrait of Mr. Holyoake.

Secularism. Chambers's Encyclopædia, vol. 9, pp. 296-297.

Explains the radical difference between secularism and atheism. Points out that secularist principles relate to the bettering of this life, and that by material means. They inculcate morality on utilitarian grounds. Holds that all the propositions of secularism are affirmative, but it neither affirms nor denies theism, a future life, or the inspiration of the scriptures, concerning itself only with the common agreement attained by freethought.

Thomas Allsop. Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 1, pp. 887-889.

Richard Carlile. Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 9, pp. 100-108.

Thomas Doubleday. Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 15, pp. 255-256.

George Edmondson. Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 16, p. 894.

Thomas Edmondson. Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 16, p. 894.

Lloyd Jones. Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 80, p. 147.

Dr. William King. Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 81, p. 170.

John Noble. Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 41, p. 81.

Thomas Thomasson. Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 56, pp. 203-204.

CRITICISM AND PRINTED CORRESPONDENCE.

1848. An address to the Editor of *The Oracle of Reason*; or, Philosophy vindicated: who has dared to outrage morality and decency by the publication of his blasphemous placards and tracts. By A MEMBER OF A MECHANICS' INSTITUTE. pp. 12, cr. 8vo.

London: Jeremiah How, 1848. 2d.

1847. Letter to the Rev. Joseph Barker, now a Preacher among Unitarians. [Signed] G. J. HOLYOAKE. pp. 4, dy. 8vo.

London: Reasoner Office [1847].

A reply to Mr. Barker's criticisms contained in his "Overthrow of infidel socialism" and other writings, and an examination of his expressed views on Christianity, on the question of socialism and Mr. Robert Owen.

1847. Letter to G. J. Holyoake. [Signed] JOSEPH BARKER. pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

Privately printed [1847].

In this pamphlet Mr. Barker attempts to answer Mr. Holyoake, and to defend himself against the charges set forth in the preceding letter.

1847. Is there sufficient proof of the existence of God? *The Bible Advocate*, May, 1847, pp. 106-9.

A criticism of Mr. Holyoake's "Paley refuted," and of an article in *The Reasoner* by "Aliquis" as well as a reply by Mr. Holyoake.

1848. Lectures on the origin, the character and the tendency of Christianity, in reply to G. J. Holyoake, delivered at Halifax on 14th and 15th February, 1848. [Signed JOSEPH BARKER]. pp. 44, cr. 8vo. [1848].

A discussion had been arranged to take place between Mr. Holyoake and Mr. Barker, but owing to the illness of the former, the discussion had to be abandoned, and as the Hall had been engaged for the purpose Mr. Barker delivered the two lectures contained in the pamphlet, with the object of proving the views of Mr. Holyoake upon the Christian religion to be false.

1850. The consequences of atheism. By the Rev. T. POTTENGER, Minister of Tothill Stairs Chapel [quotation]. pp. 24, fcap. 8vo.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne: John Ross [1850]. 1d.

Directs his arguments against atheism, and proceeds on the supposition that atheists declare the universe, with all its phenomena, to be caused by "chance," and that atheism tries to shun the origin of the first man.

1850. The logic of life, in reply to G. J. Holyoake's Logic of death. [Signed] J. HARRISON. pp. 20, fcap. 8vo.

Newcastle-on-Tyne: T. P. Barkas [1850].

The copy before the compiler is interleaved with Mr. Holyoake's notes on the strictures contained in the pamphlet. The author admits with Mr. Holyoake that Christianity of the age, in its prevailing constitutional forms and practices is wrong, and then deals with the various arguments advanced by Mr. Holyoake, defending the doctrine of future punishment.

1850. The logic of atheism, with especial reference to Mr. Holyoake's pretended refutation of Paley. By JOHN MACKINTOSH. pp. 58, cr. 8vo.

Newcastle-on-Tyne: John Ross, 1850.

Strictures on the arguments contained in "Paley refuted in his own words" and attempts to show that Mr. Holyoake admits that design implies a designer, and that he must be an organised being.

1850. G. J. Holyoake and modern atheism. By "PANTHER." *The Free Inquirer*, vol. 1, Nos. 2, 3 and 4.

London: J. Watson, 1850. 1d.

A friendly and generous examination of Mr. Holyoake's arguments contained in his "Paley refuted in his own words" and other writings by Miss Collet, an Unitarian, but an admirer of Mr. Holyoake's sincerity.

1850. Popery not Christianity; or, a defence of Christianity against the attacks of infidel lecturers, with special reference to Mr. Holyoake's lecture in the Artists' Room, Norwich, 8rd December, 1850: addressed to the working classes. By Rev. THOMAS SCOTT. pp. 16, 12mo.

London: Jarrold & Sons [1850]. 1d.

1851. The substance of a lecture on the Being of a God, delivered on the evening of Monday, 1st September, 1851, in the Town Hall, Middlesbro'; to which are added, Answers to Mr. Jacob Holyoake's objections to Dr. Paley's Natural Theology. By Mr. A. H. LAMB. pp. 16, dy. 8vo.

Middlesbro': J. Windross, 1851. 6d.

Aims to prove that the universe is the work of an intelligent Being, and to answer the objections raised by atheists against the sufficiency of evidence.

1851. The creed of error: a reply to Mr. Holyoake's "Logic of death." [By S. WILLIAMS]. pp. 24, 12 mo.

London: Partridge & Oakley [1851]. 2d.

An anonymous attack upon Mr. Holyoake. Aims to prove that the character and the tendency of "The logic of death" is to disfigure, misrepresent, and mis-apply the doctrines of Holy Writ. Written with a strain of irony against the pretensions of modern rationalists to a pure love of truth and mental freedom. The author also published a pamphlet entitled "Fear of death" protesting against Mr. Holyoake's teachings, believing them to be ruinous to the welfare of mankind.

1851. Hollowyoke un infidelity: a dialogue between owd Edmun un John, two Yewud chaps. pp. 8, 12 mo.

Heywood: J. Heywood [1851].

A general criticism of Mr. Holyoake and his teachings.

1851. A few plain thoughts in reply to the arguments and statements of Mr. Holyoake in support of an argument that there is no God. pp. 12, cr. 8vo.

Stockton: J. Readman [1851].

An examination of the leading thought developed by Mr. Holyoake in his lecture on Paley's "Natural theology."

1851. Answer to G. Jacob Holyoake's pamphlet entitled The logic of death; or, why should the atheist fear to die? pp. 16, dy. 8vo.

Dundee: James Duff [1851].

This anonymous pamphlet deals with the doctrines of Christianity which are principally attacked by Mr. Holyoake in his pamphlet, and quotes very fully what he says against Christianity, and what he says in favour of his own opinions.

1851. Discourses on infidelity. By the Rev. J. W. BROOKS.
cr. 8vo. [1851].

A reply to Mr. Holyoake's "Logic of death."

1851. The Bible and infidelity. By the Rev. T. COLLISON.
cr. 8vo. 1851.

A criticism of Mr. Holyoake's "Logic of death."

1851. *Home*. No. 9, 16th July, 1851.

London: Richard Oastler, 1851.

In this journal "Britannicus" made reply to Mr. Holyoake's "Logic of death."

1852. Atheism defended; being a review of a tract entitled "Holyoake refuted," by the author of "The logic of life." By A NEWCASTLE ATHEIST. pp. 20, cr. 8vo.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne: John Ross [1852]. 1d.

A criticism of Mr. J. Harrison's tract, and a defence of the arguments advanced by Mr. Holyoake in his "Paley refuted."

1852. Holyoake refuted, being a review of his pretended refutation of Paley. By the author of "The logic of life," "Letters to Wesleyans," etc. [J. HARRISON]. pp. 4, cr. 8vo.

Newcastle-on-Tyne: T. P. & W. Barkas [1852].

A reply to "Paley refuted in his own words," and attempts to show that Mr. Holyoake admits that design requires an intelligent designer. Mr. Harrison's tract is, in its turn, reviewed by "A Newcastle atheist" in a pamphlet entitled "Atheism defended."

1852. An answer to an atheistical work entitled "The logic of death," written by Jacob Holyoake. By JAMES QUIN (a working man). pp. 16, dy. 8vo.

Kidderminster: George Friend [1852].

This pamphlet is addressed to the working classes of the Borough of Kidderminster, and the author of it, after attacking Joseph Barker, formerly a minister, criticises the arguments contained in "The logic of death."

1852. Strictures on G. J. Holyoake's "Logic of death." By SAMUEL HIRST, Esq., B.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge [1852].

Published in *The Christian Weekly News*.

1852. The doctrine of a Supreme Being vindicated, and the fallacy of infidel arguments exposed and refuted. By the Rev. WOODVILLE WOODMAN. pp. 16, cr. 8vo. [1852]. 1d.

Strictures on a lecture delivered at Heywood by Mr. Holyoake "On the development of the principles of free inquiry," etc.

1852. Mr. G. J. Holyoake refuted in his own words. By SANDERS J. CHEW. pp. 86, 12mo.

London : Houlston & Stoneman [1852]. 6d.

Issued in six penny parts, the three first being entitled "On the existence of God." The professed object of this work is to show whether or not Mr. Holyoake is worthy of public confidence, and seeks to prove him to be a theist, because in the process of his argument entitled "Paley refuted" Mr. Holyoake assumes the existence of Deity, and that an unorganised person cannot exist.

1852. The impossibility of atheism demonstrated ; with hints to nominal atheists, in a letter to the freethinkers of Great Britain. By CHARLES SOUTHWELL [quotation]. pp. 24, 12mo.

London : J. Watson [1852].

This pamphlet is an attack upon Mr. Holyoake, and a criticism on his conduct of *The Reasoner*. Mr. Holyoake makes reply in the issues of the 4th and 11th of August, 1852, designating the above pamphlet "a fourpenny wilderness," and stating that Mr. Southwell's object was merely to demonstrate that neither theism nor non-theism is possible. Holyoake's examination elicited a reply from Southwell in the next pamphlet entitled "Another fourpenny wilderness."

1852. Another "fourpenny wilderness," in which may be found more nails for the coffin of nonsense called atheism, more hints to freethinkers, and a reply to George Jacob Holyoake's examination of Charles Southwell's "Impossibility of atheism demonstrated." By CHARLES SOUTHWELL . . . [quotation]. pp. 24, 12mo.

London : J. Watson [1852].

A caustic criticism of Mr. Holyoake's examination of Mr. Southwell's pamphlet.

1852. Letter from Signor Mazzini to Mr. G. J. Holyoake.
cr. 8vo, 1852.

Contains Signor Mazzini's views on socialism and his appeal for shilling subscriptions to assist the cause he had taken up.

1852. The European subscription: letter from Signor Mazzini. leaflet, cr. 8vo, 1852.

A letter addressed to Mr. Holyoake in reference to the shilling subscription in aid of Italian freedom. Reprinted from *The Reasoner*, vol. 18, pp. 185-6.

- 1852-58. Finger posts for cross roads; or, hints on fair thinking, dedicated to doubters. Nos. 1-4, October, 1852, to January, 1858. pp. 14, 10, 18 and 16, dy. 8vo.

London: Ward & Co., 1852-58. 2d.

This correspondence led to a discussion between Mr. Holyoake and Mr. Grant. It contains "It's all over; or, the last days of Mrs. Emma Martin, advocate of freethought."

- 1852-58. Wayside points for new roads; or defences of free-thinking, dedicated to believers. Nos. 1-4, November, 1852, to February, 1858. pp. 64, dy. 8vo.

London: J. Watson, 1852-58. 2d.

Correspondence which may be treated as an introduction to the six nights' discussion which took place in 1858 between Mr. Holyoake and Mr. Grant. The Rev. Brewin Grant first published the correspondence with comments under the title of "Finger posts for cross roads." Mr. Holyoake immediately issued the same correspondence under the title "Wayside points."

1858. Socialism and its advocates: a letter from Mr. Joseph Barker, of America, with the reply of the Editor of *The Reasoner*. pp. 8, 12mo.

London: James Watson, 1858. 1d.

Mr. Barker's letter admits the injustice he did to the character and motives of Mr. Robert Owen some thirteen years earlier, and withdraws the statements made by him respecting the comparative merits of Christianity and socialism

1853. Correspondence between Mr. George Jacob Holyoake . . . and the Rev. John H. Rutherford . . . relative to the proposed discussion in Newcastle-on-Tyne, on secularist objections to New Testament Christianity. pp. 8, roy. 8vo.

Newcastle : T. P. Barkas [1853]. 1d.

The correspondence refers more particularly to the subject and form of debate.

1853. Letter of Dr. Ashburner to Mr. G. J. Holyoake. pp. 8, roy. 8vo.

Keighley : D. W. Weatherhead [1853].

Reprinted from *The Reasoner*, Nos. 22 and 23, June, 1853. The letter was written in reply to an article entitled "Those rapping spirits" in which, while avowing a decided disbelief in any spiritual agency, Mr. Holyoake eschewed all notion of trick or imposture, and indicated a leaning to some magnetic theory as sufficient to explain the phenomena.

1853. On spirit rapping : a letter to G. J. Holyoake, Esq. pp. 8, roy. 8vo. 1853.

This work is precisely the same as the preceding pamphlet under another title.

1853. "Mene Tekel"; or, Mr. Holyoake's defeat in Hanley. By the Rev. J. M. MARTYN. pp. 17, fcap. 8vo.

Hanley : Allbut & Daniel [1853]. 2d.

The substance of two speeches in reply to Mr. Holyoake's lecture on "Science the providence of life" which he delivered in the Town Hall, Hanley, on the 18th July, 1853.

1853. *Libra*; or, the balances : being a review of "Mene Tekel," exposing the unfairness and falsity of the Rev. J. M. Martyn's Report of Mr. Holyoake's defeat in Hanley. pp. 12, cr. 8vo.

Stoke-upon-Trent : Potteries' Secular Society [1853].

Written anonymously, but supposed to have been inspired by Mr. Holyoake.

1858. The forcible feebleness; or, the vaunting weakness of atheism: being a reply to the Potteries' Secular Society's Review of "Mene Tekel." By the Rev. J. M. MARTYN. pp. 12. cr. 8vo.

Hanley: Allbut & Daniel, 1858.

1858. Holyoake *versus* Garrison: a defence of earnestness. [Signed] W. J. LINTON. pp. 4, dy. 8vo.

London: J. Watson [1858].

A venomous attack upon Mr. Holyoake, charging him with concealing his real opinions while giving expression to others; with desiring to shuffle out of the use of the term atheism, in favour of secularism; with acquiescing in American slavery, and with scheming for the elevation of Lord Palmerston to the Premiership, etc. The attack first appeared in *The English Republican*, and was reproduced in Garrison's *Boston Liberator* of the 22nd July, 1858, from which this pamphlet is reprinted. On the 9th of November Mr. Holyoake published in *The Reasoner* a "Letter to Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, Editor of *The Boston Liberator*," in which he gently rebuked Mr. Garrison for admitting the attack into his journal, and at the same time replied very fully to Linton's accusations. Harriet Martineau and others also protested against the attack upon Mr. Holyoake.

1858. G. J. Holyoake exposed: a supplement to *The Reasoner* of 9th Nov., 1858. By W. J. LINTON [quotation]. pp. 8, dy. 8vo.

A further attack upon the character of Mr. Holyoake in the form of a reply to his "Letter to Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, Editor of *The Boston Liberator*" in which Mr. Linton repeats his accusations that Mr. Holyoake's "Strictures on the abolitionists" was tantamount to an acquiescence in slavery, and that he, with others, had been guilty of scheming and plotting for the elevation of Lord Palmerston to the Premiership.

1858. Supernaturalism exploded, in a review of the famous six nights' controversy between the Rev. Brewin Grant, Christian, and George Jacob Holyoake, Secularist. By CHARLES SOUTHWELL . . . [quotation]. pp. 40, 12mo.

London: James Watson [1858]. 8d.

The subject of the discussion was "What advantages would accrue to mankind generally, and the working classes in particular, by the removal of Christianity and the substitution of secularism in its place?" The question was discussed in the Cowper Street School-room, City Road, on Saturday, the 26th March, 1858. Mr. Southwell's criticisms are favourable to Mr. Holyoake.

1853. A lecture delivered at the Royal British Institution, Cowper Street, London, 3rd March, 1853, on the conclusion of the discussion between Mr. G. J. Holyoake and the Rev. Brewin Grant, by the Rev. J. H. HINTON. *Secular Tracts, No. 1.* pp. 28, fcap. 8vo.

London: Houlston & Stoneman. 1853. 3d.

The author attempts to review from the Christian standpoint the subject of discussion which was entitled "Christianity and secularism."

1853. Strictures on the lectures delivered by the Rev. Brewin Grant, B.A. [Signed] A WORKING MAN. pp. 80; fcap. 8vo.

Keighley: J. Rhodes. 1853. 6d.

The lectures delivered by the Rev. Brewin Grant dealt with "The last trial for atheism," and "The life of R. Carille" by Mr. Holyoake. The strictures—four in number—are written in defence of Holyoake, the first attempting to demolish Mr. Grant's rhapsodies about Bunyan; in the second a parallel is drawn between John Bunyan and Holyoake; the third contains remarks on the married lives of Carille, Wesley and Nelson; and the fourth is on Mormonite and Jewish polygamy, giving an account of Richard Carille's real character.

1853. The doctrine of Holyoake, as preached by his apostle and arch-atheist Robert Cooper, at the Town Hall, Little Bolton, 6th, 7th and 8th April, critically and philosophically examined. *The Conservative Bulwark*, vol. 1, Nos. 6, 7 and 8, April, 1853.

1853. A letter to Mester Holyoake, the London maggot-monger. [Signed] THE SHEVVILD CHAP. In *The Shevvild Chap's Annual* for the year 1853. pp. 10-15.

Sheffield: Thomas Rodgers [1853]. 3d.

1853. The gift of life; or, "Why should an atheist care to live?" a letter addressed to Mr. Holyoake in reply to "The logic of death; or, why should an atheist fear to die?" By FRANK CURZON. pp. 14, 12mo.

London: Houlston & Stoneman. 1853.

The author describes Mr. Holyoake as almost meriting the sobriquet of "the Chesterfield of metaphysical highwaymen." Mr. Curzon is the author of "Lays and legends of the West."

1853. Sunday closing: a refutation of the doctrines of Holyoake, commonly called secularism, being an answer to the letter of Messrs. Witherington, Grimshaw and Hilton. By OBSERVER. pp. 18, cr. 8vo.

Bolton: J. Joyce [1853].

A defence of Christianity. Asserts that secularism is destructive of virtue, and that it is an immoral system.

1853. A refutation of the doctrines of Mr. Holyoake. *Anon.*

Bolton: J. Joyce. [1853].

1854. Christianity v. infidelity—Is there a God? *Anon.* cr. 8vo.

Newcastle: J. Barkas. [1854].

1854. The most wonderful book in the world. *Anon.* cr. 8vo.

Newcastle: J. Barkas. [1854].

1854. The genealogy of Jesus. *Anon.*

Newcastle: J. Barkas [1854].

The above-mentioned four anonymous pamphlets were published as replies to Mr. Holyoake's writings.

1854. A letter to Mr. George Jacob Holyoake: containing a brief review of that gentleman's conduct and policy as a reformer, with especial reference to his reply to Mr. Linton and *The Boston Liberator*; his criticism upon the stranger of *The Leader* newspaper and defence of the Cobden policy; with the writer's opinion upon free trade measures, and on the position and interests of the middle and working classes, etc., etc. By CHARLES MURRAY. pp. 18, dy. 8vo.

London: Pavey, 1854. 2d.

A criticism of Mr. Holyoake, attempting to demonstrate from his writings that his doctrines were not calculated to advance the cause of real reform, or to enlist the sympathy of the productive classes.

1854. The logic of Holyoake's logic of death; or, why the atheist should fear to die. [ANON.] pp. 24, fcap. 8vo.

Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1854. 1d.

The author of this pamphlet is William Martin, Professor of Logic at Marischal College, Aberdeen. He aims to analyse what is advanced by Mr. Holyoake, and to determine whether his logic is sound. Attempts to show how unsatisfactory are the reasons assigned by Mr. Holyoake, with a view to the assurance of his friends in the prospect of death, and briefly offers reasons why an atheist should fear to die.

1854. Six chapters on secularism; or, the secular theory examined in the light of scripture and philosophy. By the Rev. JOSEPH PARKER. pp. v.+48, 12mo.

London: William Freeman, 1854. 1s.

At the time he contributed the series of six papers to *The Christian Weekly News*, from which this pamphlet is reprinted, Dr. Joseph Parker was the minister of the Church Lane Independent Chapel, Banbury. The author endeavours to present the two systems—Christianity and secularism—in the light of contrast, accepting the writings of Mr. Holyoake and other recognised advocates for the side of secularism. It is mainly a criticism of Mr. Holyoake's "Secularism the practical philosophy of the people," and of the views he advanced in three lectures he delivered at Banbury illustrative of the principles of secularism. Dr. Parker's views were criticised by W. H. Johnson ("Anthony Collins") in *The Yorkshire Tribune*.

1854. "Is man responsible for his belief?" a lecture delivered in the City Hall, Glasgow, on 23rd October, 1854. By the Rev. BREWIN GRANT, B.A. pp. 22, cr. 8vo.

Glasgow: Robert Stark [1854]. 1d.

Criticises Mr. Holyoake's views contained in his early pamphlets, and those advanced by him during his discussion with Mr. Grant at Glasgow a few days before the date of the above lecture.

1854. Christianity, not secularism the practical philosophy of the people: a reply to G. J. Holyoake's tract. . . . By JOHN ALFRED LANGFORD. pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: Partridge & Oakey, 1854. 1d.

While the author entertained feelings of respect for Mr. Holyoake's moral integrity, admiration for his acquirements, and enjoyed an intimate friendship with him for many years, he believed the teachings contained in Holyoake's tract to be false, pernicious, and destructive of the best interests of man.

1854. G. J. Holyoake exposed. *The Young Men's Magazine*, vol. 1, No. 6, June, 1854. pp. 117-120.

A severe attack upon Holyoake and the teachings contained in his works, apparently from the pen of W. J. Linton, for the same arguments and the same expressions are employed as those used by Linton in his criticism under the same title. The pamphlet issued by Mr. Chew in criticism of Mr. Holyoake is here commended.

1854. To Mr. Holyoake's audience. [Signed] BREWIN GRANT. leaflet. [1854].

1854. Christianity *versus* secularism: secularism not the practical philosophy of the people. By JAMES MACGREGOR.

Glasgow: J. R. M'Nair, 1854.

A refutation of the doctrine of man's irresponsibility for his belief, and attempts to demolish the fundamental position of the secularist.

1855. The written discussion about the printed discussion. *The Association or Young Men's Magazine*. March, pp. 82-95, and April, pp. 106-110, 1855.

Refers to the discussion between Mr. Holyoake and Mr. Grant at Glasgow, and to the publication of the report with interpolations and omissions without the sanction of Mr. Holyoake's committee.

1855. George Jacob Holyoake and modern atheism: a biographical and critical essay. By SOPHIA DOBSON COLLET [quotation]. pp. 54, cr. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co., 1855.

Part of this essay originally appeared in the columns of the unitarian organ, *The Free Inquirer*, of 1850, over Miss Collet's pseudonym "Panthea." In 1855 the material was recast and considerably enlarged. Aims to indicate the position of Mr. Holyoake in relation to atheism, and the position of secularism in relation to theism. The author is very impartial, and brings together all the moral concessions of the more candid and thoughtful secularists. The work is prefaced by a most sympathetic sketch of the early life and struggle of Mr. Holyoake, and a critical account of his writings up to the year 1854, intended to bring out what the author considered to be the suspensive character of his scepticism. Indeed the author maintains that Mr. Holyoake was not an atheist, and she quotes his own language to prove that he was not.

1855. George Jacob Holyoake and Atheism. *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 22, 1855, page 700.

1856. Modern infidelity tried on its own merits ; or, a reply to some of the statements of Mr. G. J. Holyoake, in his discussion with the Rev. Brewin Grant in Glasgow . . . October, 1854 [quotation]. By D. M'INNES. pp. 48, cr. 8vo.

Glasgow: B. Robertson, 1856. 6d.

The first of a series of replies to the statements made by secularists. It is really a criticism of the discussion as published in book form, in so far as it applies to Mr. Holyoake's arguments.

1856. Robert Cooper. *The Yorkshire Tribune*. pp. 78-80. 1856.

A comparison is drawn between Mr. Robert Cooper and Mr. Holyoake unfavourable and uncomplimentary to the latter.

1856. Kenyon's reply to a lecture delivered 1st June, 1856, by George Jacob Holyoake in the St. John's Temperance Hall, Hewitt Street, Knott Mill, Manchester. Subject: "The book of Matthew decisive as to the non-divinity of the New Testament" . . . [By SAMUEL KENYON]. pp. 7, cr. 8vo.

Manchester: The author. [1856].

1856. Truth frae 'mang the heather: a prize essay on the evidences of Christianity. By WILLIAM M'CAW, shepherd. [quotation]. pp. 71, 12mo.

London: Thornhill Institute, 1856.

A reply to the arguments of Mr. Holyoake in his discussion with the Rev. Brewin Grant on Christianity and secularism. The pamphlet was written by a Dumfriesshire shepherd, and published with the help of Dr. Grierson.

1856. What is secularism? [Signed] WILLIAM MITCHELL. *The Yorkshire Tribune*. 1856.

A letter addressed to Mr. Holyoake, suggesting the necessity of a secular conference.

1856. A letter to Mr. George Jacob Holyoake on the present state and policy of the freethinking party. [Signed] W. H. JOHNSON. *The Yorkshire Tribune*. pp. 49-58. [1856].

A criticism of the secularist movement, proposing a plan of campaign by way of resuscitating it. The author of this letter is the same as "Anthony Collins," the pseudonym over which Mr. W. H. Johnson occasionally wrote.

1856. [Letters] to Mr. G. J. Holyoake in defence of Mr. Johnson's letter on "The present state and policy of the freethinking party." [Signed] "ANTHONY COLLINS." *The Yorkshire Tribune*. [1856].

Mr. Holyoake criticised Mr. Johnson's letter and referred to Mr. R. Cooper in terms that displeased both the editor and "Anthony Collins," the author of the two letters above, but as "Anthony Collins" happens to be none other than W. H. Johnson, it is very clear that the first letter was written to draw a reply from Mr. Holyoake, so that he might, under an assumed name, while professing to defend W. H. Johnson, subject Mr. Holyoake to a further spiteful and unjustifiable attack.

1858. Mr. Holyoake and his detractors: an address to the Friends of Progress. By W. TURLEY. pp. 8, cr. 8vo. London: W. Goddard [1858]. 2d.

Reply to strictures by John Maughan (Vice-President of the London Secular Society), Bradlaugh, and other ultra-atheistic secularists who had, three years previously, set up a rival journal, *The Investigator*, for the purpose of returning to the old traditions of hatred and ridicule, in opposition to Holyoake's more catholic and fraternal policy, and who attempted to malign Holyoake in every conceivable way. For a further criticism of Maughan and others read Robertson's "Secularists and their slanderers."

1858. Secularists and their slanderers: or, the "Investigator" investigated. Mr. Holyoake and his assailants, their defeat and the votes of confidence in Fleet Street House, from Manchester and elsewhere. By JAMES ROBERTSON [quotation]. pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: J. B. Bebbington [1858]. 3d.

A defence of Mr. Holyoake against the onslaught upon his character and upon the policy he pursued in the management of Fleet Street House. In reality it was intended as a spirited attack upon the proprietors of *The Investigator*, and upon Messrs. Maughan, "Anthony Collins," Robert Cooper, "Iconoclast," and others for their malignant and calumnious enmity towards Mr. Holyoake. For further criticism read Turley's "Mr. Holyoake and his detractors."

1858. Confessions of Joseph Barker, a convert from Christianity. [Signed] JOSEPH BARKER. pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1858. 2d.

A letter addressed to Mr. Holyoake reprinted from *The Reasoner*, Nos. 646-9. Mr. Barker, who from having been successively a Methodist, a Unitarian and a theistic secularist, became an atheistic secularist, holding secularism "as the sole concern and business of mankind." For years he had criticised Mr. Holyoake's views but in this "religious confession" he enthusiastically applauds Mr. Holyoake for his persevering efforts in the cause of secularism, stating that the doctrine of a personal God and a future life appeared to rest on no proof.

1859. Secularism: what is it? Answered by a working man. By THOMAS LOND, plasterer. pp. 32, cr. 8vo.

London: Ward & Co., 1859.

Arguments against the principles and opinions advocated by Mr. Holyoake under the name of secularism, and is intended as an antidote against the "insidious attacks made against revelation and Christianity."

1859. Popular literature tracts. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 85, 1859, pp. 528-9.

Refers to Mr. Holyoake, and the presentation to him of £250 at the Freemasons' Tavern, and the foundation of the news and book agency.

1860. Mr. Holyoake's "Logic of life" inconsistent and dangerous: a criticism on the lecture recently delivered by that gentleman in the Philosophical Hall, Huddersfield. By J. CLARK. pp. 12, cr. 8vo.

Huddersfield: J. Woodhead, 1860. 1d.

1860. Phases of atheism described, examined and answered. By SOPHIA DOBSON COLLET [quotation]. pp. 36, cr. 8vo.

London: Holyoake & Co., 1860. 6d.

An essay reprinted from *The American Christian Examiner*, of November, 1859, and is intended to show that the purely secular view regards religion as a mere intellectual uncertainty, and while it endeavours to avoid that uncertainty by virtually eliminating the spiritual element from daily life, it misses the richest and highest influences that life can receive, and that the more ideal atheism which escapes this error does so only to fall into another equally serious.

1862. An account of the proceedings at the shareholders' meeting of *The National Reformer* Company, held at Sheffield, 23rd March, 1862, giving a true version of the way in which the editor was re-elected. By JAMES DODWORTH, Chairman of the Board of Directors. pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

Points out that the professed report printed in No. 99 of *The National Reformer* is not a true statement of what actually took place at the meeting, and criticises Mr. Bradlaugh. For further particulars read "Mr. Holyoake's disconnection from *The National Reformer*."

1868. Helps to belief; or, essays by the way. By J. H. GORDON . . . pp. 32, fcap. 8vo.

Leeds: J. Hamer, 1868. 2d.

This pamphlet is No. 4 of the series, and is entitled "Just-what-you-like-ism: a brief explanation of Mr. G. J. Holyoake's 'Principles of secularism briefly explained.'"

1865. The logic of life and death; or, words with the unbeliever. In two parts. By B. HARRIS COWPER. pp. 84. 12mo.

London: Elliot Stock, 1865.

An attempt to answer Mr. Holyoake, and to refute his objections to the "four principal dogmas"—The fall of man, The atonement, The sin of unbelief, Future punishment. In the second part the author deals with the arguments contained in Mr. Holyoake's "Logic of death" from the Christian point of view.

1866. An argument for an extension of the franchise: a letter addressed to George Jacob Holyoake, Esq., by WILLIAM HALE WHITE. pp. 19, dy. 8vo.

London: F. Farrah, 1866. 6d.

This pamphlet was printed at the request of Mr. Holyoake, and proceeds to state his reasons for an extension of the suffrage to the working classes, and considers some of the objections which he thought might be raised against such an extension. The author of the pamphlet is better known by his assumed name "Mark Rutherford."

1870. Monthly issue of *The Reasoner*. pp. 4, cr. 8vo. [1870].

Correspondence between Mr. William Nuttall and Mr. G. J. Holyoake with reference to the more regular issue of that journal.

1872. **The Bishop of Peterborough and Mr. Holyoake.**
leaflet, 4to. 1872.

This correspondence in reference to the Bishop's argumentative discourse on the "Demonstration of the Spirit" is reprinted from *The Daily Press* of Saturday, May 25th, 1872.

1874. **Secularism re-stated ; with a review of the several expositions of Charles Bradlaugh and George Jacob Holyoake.** By GEORGE WILLIAM FOOTE [quotation.] pp. 16, cr. 8vo.

London : W. J. Ramsey, 1874, 2d.

The aim is to impartially criticise the views of Mr. Holyoake and Mr. Bradlaugh as stated in the discussion between them, and to elucidate the essential nature of the principles of their common faith. Maintains that secularism and atheism are totally distinct, which is precisely the position taken up by Mr. Holyoake. The author complains that Mr. Holyoake was too catholic, who instead of narrowing the basis of secularism to a mere intellectual attitude towards the doctrine of Deity, widens it so far as to include everything and anything.

1877. **On deficiencies of secularism, prepared at the suggestion of the Protestant dissenting ministers of Warwickshire and neighbourhood, read before them, 19th November, 1877.** By PETER DEAN. cr. 8vo.

London : Smart & Allen, 1877.

Mr. Henry J. Slack in *The Inquirer*, and Professor F. W. Newman defended Mr. Holyoake against the criticism of this tract.

1879. **A letter from Lloyd Jones to George Jacob Holyoake.** pp. 8, dy. 8vo. [1879].

The outcome of a controversy in *The Co-operative News*, circa 1879, written with the object of correcting alleged mis-statements by Mr. Holyoake in his "History of Co-operation," and to defend himself and others against certain accusations.

1902. **What is agnosticism ? with observations on Huxley, Bradlaugh and Ingersoll ; and a reply to George Jacob Holyoake . . .** By G. W. FOOTE. pp. 81, cr. 8vo.

London : Freethought Publishing Co., 1902. 3d.

Seeks to show that Mr. Holyoake had changed in his religious views. The author's criticism turns on Mr. Holyoake's statement that he was not an atheist but an agnostic, which the author attempts to prove are synonymous terms, and suggests that he had turned his back upon a principle which he had so often expounded.

1902. "The war path of opinion": a reply. By HYPATIA
BRADLAUGH BONNER. pp. 38, dy. 8vo.

London: A. & H. B. Bonner, 1902.

A defence of Mr. Bradlaugh against the statement made by Mr. Holyoake in his pamphlet bearing the above title, which he had printed in 1896, but did not publish until 1901. The charges made were in reference to the Fleet Street House, Mr. Bradlaugh's journalistic connection with *The National Reformer*, the publication of "The Bible: what it is," and the oaths and blasphemy law. The copy before the compiler is one presented to Mr. Holyoake by Mrs. Bonner, the daughter of Mr. Bradlaugh.



BIOGRAPHICAL.

1842. The trial of George Jacob Holyoake, on an indictment for blasphemy, before Mr. Justice Erskine and a common jury, at Gloucester, August the 15th, 1842, from notes specially taken by Mr. Hunt. [By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE]. pp. iv. + 68, dy. 8vo.

London: The Anti-Persecution Union, 1842. 10d.

On the 24th May, 1842, Mr. Holyoake delivered a lecture at Cheltenham on the general principles of co-operation, entitled "Home colonisation as a means of superseding poor laws and emigration." At the close of the lecture a question was put to Mr. Holyoake, and it is said that he used the following words "Our national debt already hangs like a millstone round the poor man's neck, and our national Church and general religious institutions cost us about twenty millions annually. Worship being thus expensive I appeal to your heads and your pockets whether we are not too poor to have a God. If poor men cost the State as much, they would be put like officers on half-pay, and while our distress lasts I think it would be wise to do the same thing with Deity . . . Morality I regard, but I do not believe there is such a thing as a God." The latter phrase Mr. Holyoake denied using. This lecture led to Mr. Holyoake's arrest and prosecution for blasphemy. In his defence he spoke for nine hours, and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. He was released on the 6th February, 1843.

1855. George Jacob Holyoake and modern atheism: a biographical and critical essay. By SOPHIA DOBSON COLLET [quotation]. pp. 54, cr. 8vo.

London: Trübner & Co., 1855.

Gives a most sympathetic sketch of the early life and struggles of Mr. Holyoake, and a critical account of his writings up to the year 1854. Miss Collet, an Unitarian, published a considerable portion of this book in a series of articles contributed to *The Free Inquirer*.

1864. Half-hours with freethinkers; edited by John Watts and "Iconoclast." No. 5, 29th September, 1864.

London: Watts & Co., 1864. 1d.

Brief sketch of the early life of Mr. Holyoake, with allusions to his writings as representative of modern English atheism.

1872. Men of the time. 1872.

Mr. Holyoake's name was not again inserted in this work for some years, but was in 1899 re-instated by Mr. Victor G. Plarr.

1875. George Jacob Holyoake. By G. W. SMALLEY. pp. 2, cr. 8vo.

Reprint of a letter contributed to *The New York Tribune*, 25th March, 1875, drawing attention to a proposed subscription to Mr. Holyoake.

1875. Letter signed by Evans Bell, March, 1875. pp. 4, 4to.

An appeal for subscriptions, which the Committee proposed to invest for the benefit of Mr. Holyoake. Contains quotations from "Men of the time" and from Molesworth's "History of England," referring to Mr. Holyoake, and also a list of the "Holyoake" Fund Committee.

1875. Cope's Tobacco plant, April, 1875.

1877. George Jacob Holyoake [with portrait]. *The Secular Chronicle*; edited by Mrs. Harriet Law, vol. 8, No. 20, 11th November, 1877. 1d.

A sympathetic biographical notice signed by Harriet Law.

1879. Complimentary dinner to Mr. G. J. Holyoake.

Account of the banquet given to Mr. Holyoake on 15th August, 1879, on the occasion of his passing through Liverpool en route for America. The leaflet is reprinted from *The Liverpool Daily Post*, 16th August, 1879.

1880. George Jacob Holyoake. *The Biograph*, October, 1880, pp. 299-304.

1882. Proposed dinner to Mr. G. J. Holyoake. leaflet.

The proposed complimentary dinner was announced to take place on the 16th August at the Brooklands Hotel, near Manchester, on the occasion of Mr. Holyoake's second visit to the United States. The circular was dated 19th July, 1882, a copy of which was sent to Mr. Holyoake's friends and admirers.

1882. Dinner to Mr. George Jacob Holyoake, Manchester, Wednesday, 16th August, 1882.

An account of the complimentary dinner given to Mr. Holyoake at the Brooklands Hotel some three days before he sailed for America, with the object of reporting upon Canada and the United States as fields for emigration. The dinner was given in testimony of Mr. Holyoake's efforts for the good of all classes by the spread of co-operation, education, etc. Dr. W. E. A. Axon acted as Secretary to the Dinner Committee. Reprinted from *The Manchester City News*, 19th August, 1882.

1882. Complimentary dinner to George Jacob Holyoake, Manchester, August 16th, 1882. pp. 4, cr. 8vo.

The leaflet is reprinted from *The Liverpool Daily Post*, 17th August, 1882. The dinner was given at the Brooklands Hotel, near Manchester.

1888. Colonel Ingersoll on Mr. G. J. Holyoake. pp. 8, cr. 8vo.

A handsome panegyric on Mr. Holyoake, reprinted from *The Boston Investigator* of the 8th August, 1888, and a reply to the criticism upon Mr. Holyoake which appeared in *The Investigator*. It might also be accepted as a complete answer to the baseless attacks upon his character made by Mr. W. J. Linton some 30 years earlier in *The Boston Liberator*.

1886. George Jacob Holyoake. By RICHARD J. HINTON.
"English radical leaders," page 355 *et seq.*

1888. Co-operative News, vol. 19, 31st March, 1888. pp. 801-8.

Contains an excellent sketch of the life of Mr. G. J. Holyoake, with portrait.

1889. Mr. Holyoake's annuity. pp. 5, cr. 8vo. [1889].

An appeal for subscriptions to augment Mr Holyoake's income, signed by R. Applegarth. It also contains a list of subscriptions and a letter of acknowledgement addressed by Mr. Holyoake to those whose names appear in the list of contributors.

1892. Who's who.

1894. Mr. George J. Holyoake, the co-operative pioneer.
[Signed] C. S. B. pp. 2, roy. 8vo. 1894.

An account of an interview with Mr. Holyoake, reprinted from *The Christian World* of 5th April, 1894.

1898. Sixty years of co-operation ; with portraits of Robert Owen, E. Vansittart Neale, J. T. W. Mitchell, George Jacob Holyoake [with portrait]. By SYBELLA GURNEY.
pp. 12, dy. 8vo.

London : Labour Association [1898]. 1d.

1899. Taxes on travelling: interview with George Jacob Holyoake [with portrait]. pp. 4, 4to.

London: Columbus Publishing Co., 1899.

Reprinted from *Commerces*, 29th March, 1899.

1900. George Jacob Holyoake [with portrait]. pp. 2, cr. 8vo. [1900].

1901. Character sketches: George Jacob Holyoake. [By W. T. STEAD]. *Review of Reviews*, vol. 24, September, 1901. pp. 248-261.

A brief, but very sympathetic account of Mr. Holyoake's career from his early boyhood, giving three portraits of him, and one each of his wife and mother. The sketch was written by Mr. Stead at the suggestion of Mr. W. Ashton. Part of the same article appeared in the Australian edition, vol. 19. page 377.

1901. Co-operative rhymes and odes [with portrait of G. J. Holyoake]. By W. HAZLITT ROBERTS. pp. 74, 4to.

London: Co-operative Institute, 1901.

A short poem entitled "To George Jacob Holyoake, on seeing his portrait in *The Co-operative News*," copied by permission from *The Co-operative News*, 7th April, 1888.

1901. Recognition of twenty-four years' special service by Mr. G. J. Holyoake as Chairman of the Travelling Tax Abolition Committee. [Signed] ROBERT APPLGARTH. pp. 8, cr. 8vo. [1901].

A statement of the part played by Mr. Holyoake as Chairman of the Travelling Tax Abolition Committee in freeing travel from taxation, and appeals for subscriptions in recognition of his services. The sum subscribed amounted to £85 10s. 8½d.

1905. Modern influences: George Jacob Holyoake. By W. HENRY BROWN [with three portraits]. *The Millgate Monthly*, October, 1905, pp. 4-7.

1906. Memorial Service to Mr. G. J. Holyoake, *South Place Magazine*, No. 6, March, 1906, pp. 81-88.

Addresses delivered at South Place on Sunday morning, 28th January, 1906, by Mr. J. A. Hobson and Mr. Joseph McCabe.

1906. G. J. Holyoake : a poem. By R. DIMSDALE STOCKER.
In his "Poems of life," pp. 22-8.

London : Gay & Bird, 1906.

1906. George Jacob Holyoake. *The Working Men's College Journal*, February, 1906, page 246.

A short reference to the death of Mr. Holyoake.

1906. George Jacob Holyoake : full and revised report of a sermon delivered by Dr. John Clifford, M.A., on Sunday evening, 4th February, 1906. pp. 81, 82mo.

London : Westbourne Park Record Press, 1906. 2d.

1906. George Jacob Holyoake. By W. HENRY BROWN
(The pioneer biographies of social reformers, No. 1).
pp. 16, fcap. 8vo.

London : C. W. Daniel [1906]. 1d.

1906. Mr. G. J. Holyoake, life-long worker in the cause of freedom, first labour candidate, last man to be sentenced for atheism. *Amalgamated Toolmakers' Monthly Record*, February, 1906, pp. 5-8.

Contains portrait of Mr. Holyoake on cover.

1906. Historical and literary associations of Brighton and Hove. By F. HARRISON, M.A.

Contains a reference to Mr. Holyoake, and gives a view of Eastern Lodge, showing the window at which he sat and worked during his later years.

1906. Funeral of Mr. G. J. Holyoake. *The Co-operative News*, 3rd February, 1906.

An account of the "impressive ceremony at Golder's Green," and report of the "touching and eloquent tributes."

1907. The "Holyoake" Memorial. *The Co-operative News*, 18th October, 1907.

An interesting talk with Mr. Albert Toft, the sculptor of the bust of the late Mr. Holyoake.

1907. The story of the co-operative movement. By RICHARD WHITEING. *Cassell's Magazine*, January, 1907, pp. 284-288.

Refers to Mr. Holyoake and gives a portrait of him.

1907. Honouring a true man. Rev. Dr. Clifford unveils the bust of George Jacob Holyoake. *The Co-operative News*, 16th November, 1907.

Reprinted as a supplement to *The Literary Guide*, January, 1908, giving an account of the ceremony in Highgate Cemetery, by the special correspondent of *The Co-operative News*.

1908. Life and letters of George Jacob Holyoake. By JOSEPH McCABE [issued for the Rationalist Press Association, Ltd.]. 2 vols., dy. 8vo. pp. viii.+356 and 360.

London: Watts & Co., 1908. 16s. net.

This work, which is prefaced by Mr. E. O. Greening, is a charming appreciation of Mr. Holyoake. It contains seven portraits of Mr. Holyoake taken at different periods of his life; a view of Eastern Lodge, his Brighton residence, and a view of the Memorial on his grave in Highgate Cemetery. The book was announced to appear on the 25th April, 1908, but owing to several unfavourable references to Mr. Bradlaugh in his connection with Mr. Holyoake, the book was withheld from publication pending the deletion or modification of the passages referred to. The suppressed passages would have given special interest to the book, since they were written by one approaching the subject without bias, and written after carefully examining all the original documents.

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Bee-hive, 5th June, 1875.

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Work, No. 203, 4th February, 1893, page 41.

Cabinet Portrait Gallery, vol. 4, 1893, page 62.

The Agricultural Economist, 1st April, 1894, page 75.

The New Weekly, 3rd February, 1894.

Christian Commonwealth, 30th January, 1896.

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Taxes on Travelling, 1899.

Review of Reviews, vol. 24, September, 1901.

Week-end, 28th December, 1901.

I. O. U., 4th January, 1902.

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page 328.

Millgate Monthly, October, 1905.

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Co-operative Congress Exhibition, Birmingham, 1906,
page 27.

Amalgamated Toolmakers' Monthly Record, February, 1906.

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January, 1907, page 234.

Co-operative rhymes and odes. By W. HAZLITT ROBERTS.

Plymouth Co-operative Record, page 51.

English secularism. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

Essentials of co-operative education. By GEORGE JACOB
HOLYOAKE.

Sixty years of co-operation. By SYBELLA GURNEY.

Portraits of Mr. Holyoake have also appeared in some 80
Newspapers.

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